# SIX SKETCHES

ON THE

# HISTORY OF MAN.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Joseph L. Chester

# SIX SKETCHES

ON THE

# HISTORY OF MAN.

CONTAINING,

THE PROGRESS OF MEN AS INDIVIDUALS,

I. The DIVERSITY of MEN, and of LANGUAGES.
II. Of FOOD, and POPULATION.
III. Of PROPERTY.
IV. The ORIGIN and PROGRESS of COMMERCE.
V. The ORIGIN and PROGRESS of ARTS.
VI. The PROGRESS of the FEMALE SEX.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

Concerning, the PROPAGATION of ANIMALS, and the CARE of their OFFSPRING.

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BY *HENRY HOME*, LORD *KAIMS*,
Author of the ELEMENTS of CRITICISM.

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*PHILADELPHIA:*
SOLD by R. BELL, in *Third-Street*, and R. AITKEN, in *Front-Street*,
M,DCC,LXXVI.

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# PREFACE.

THE following work is the ſubſtance of various ſpeculations, that occaſionally amuſed the author, and enlivened his leiſure hours. It is not intended for the learned; they are above it: Nor for the vulgar; they are below it. It is intended for men, who, equally removed from the corruption of opulence, and from the depreſſion of bodily labour, are bent on uſeful knowledge; who, even in the delirium of youth, feel the dawn of patriotiſm, and who, in riper years, enjoy its meridian warmth. To ſuch men this work is dedicated; and that they may profit by it, is the author's ardent wiſh, and probably will be while any ſpirit remains in him to form a wiſh.

May not he hope, that this work, child of his grey hairs, will ſurvive, and bear teſtimony for him to good men, that even a laborious calling, which left him not many leiſure hours, never baniſhed from his mind, that he would little deſerve to be of the human ſpecies, were he indifferent about his fellow creatures:

*Homo ſum: Humani nihil a me alienum puto.*

Being a man; I acquaint myſelf with every thing relative to mankind.

Moſt of the ſubjects handled in the following ſheets admit but of probable reaſoning; which is not a little ſlippery, as, with reſpect to many reaſonings of that kind, it is difficult to pronounce, what

what degree of conviction they ought to produce. It is eaſy to form plauſible arguments; but to form ſuch as will ſtand the teſt of time, is not always eaſy. I could amuſe the reader with numerous examples of conjectural arguments, which, fair at a diſtant view, vaniſh like a cloud on a near approach. In the firſt ſketch of this book, not to go farther, he will find recorded more than one example. The dread of being miſled by ſuch arguments filled the author with anxiety; and, after his utmoſt attention, he can but faintly hope, that he has not often wandered far from truth.

Above thirty years ago he began to collect materials for a natural hiſtory of man; and, in the vigour of youth, did not think the undertaking too bold, even for a ſingle hand. He has diſcovered of late, that his utmoſt abilities are ſcarce ſufficient for executing a few imperfect ſketches.

*Edinburgh, Feb.* 23, 1774.

1 NO 61

## To the READER.

As one great object of the Editor is to make this a popular work, he has, chiefly with a view to the female ſex, ſubjoined an Engliſh tranſlation of all the quotations from other languages.

# CONTENTS.

## PROGRESS OF MEN AS INDIVIDUALS.


Sketch. Page.

1. *Diverſity of men and of languages,* 1.
2. *Progreſs of men with reſpect to food and population,* 51.
3. *Progreſs of men with reſpect to property,* 70.
4. *Origin and progreſs of commerce,* 78.
5. *Origin and progreſs of arts,*
   Sect. 1. *Uſeful arts,* 99.
   2. *Progreſs of taſte and of the fine arts,* 121.
6. *The Progreſs of the female ſex,* 194.

Appendix, *Concerning the propagation of animals, and the care of their offspring.* 256.

1 NO 61

# SKETCHES

## OF THE

# HISTORY OF MAN.

## BOOK I.

### Progreſs of MEN as INDIVIDUALS.

### SKETCH I.

### DIVERSITY of MEN and of LANGUAGES.

WHETHER there be different races of men, or whether all men be of one race, without any difference but what proceeds from climate or other accident, is a profound queſtion of natural hiſtory, which remains ſtill undetermined after all that has been ſaid upon it. As the queſtion is of moment in tracing the hiſtory of man, I purpoſe to contribute my mite; and in order to admit all the light poſſible, a view of brute animals as divided into different races or kinds, will make a proper introduction.

As many animals contribute to our well-being, by labouring for us, or by affording us food and raiment, and as many are noxious; our terreſtrial habitation would be little comfortable, had we no

means but experience for diſtinguiſhing the one ſort from the other. Were each individual animal a ſpecies by itſelf, (indulging the expreſſion,) differing from every other individual, a man would finiſh his days without acquiring ſo much knowledge of animals as is neceſſary even for ſelf-preſervation: experience would give him no aid with reſpect to any individual of which he has no experience. The Deity has left none of his works imperfect. Animals are formed of different kinds, each kind having a figure and a temper peculiar to itſelf. Great uniformity is diſcovered among animals of the ſame kind; no leſs variety among animals of different kinds; and to prevent confuſion, kinds are diſtinguiſhed externally by figure, air, manner, ſo clearly as not to eſcape even a child *. To complete this curious ſyſtem, we have an innate ſenſe, that each kind is endued with properties peculiar to itſelf; and that theſe properties belong to every individual of the kind [a]. Our road to the knowledge of animals is thus wonderfully abridged: the experience we have of the diſpoſition and properties of any animal, is applied without heſitation to every one of the kind. By that ſenſe, a child, familiar with one dog, is fond of others that reſemble it: an European, upon the firſt ſight of a cow in Africa, ſtrokes it as gentle and innocent; and

* "And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beaſt of "the field and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam "to ſee what he would call them. And Adam gave names unto all "cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beaſt of the field." Gen. ii. 19.

a See Elements of Criticiſm, edit. 4. vol II. page 490.

an

an African avoids a tiger in Hindoſtan as at home.

If the foregoing theory be well founded, neither experience nor argument is required to prove, that a horſe is not an aſs, or that a monkey is not a man [b]. Some animals indeed are ſo ſimilar, as to render it uncertain whether they be not radically of the ſame ſpecies. But in every ſuch inſtance there is little need to be ſolicitous; for I venture to affirm, that both will be found gentle or fierce, wholeſome food or unwholeſome. Such queſtions may be curious, but they are of no uſe.

The diviſion of brute animals into different kinds, is not more uſeful to man than to the animals themſelves. A beaſt of prey would be ill fitted for its ſtation, if nature did not teach it what creatures to attack, and what to avoid. A rabbit is the prey of the ferret. Preſent a rabbit, even dead, to a young ferret, that never had ſeen a rabbit; it throws itſelf upon the body, and bites it with fury. A hound has the ſame inſtinct with reſpect to a hare, and moſt dogs have it. Unleſs directed by nature, innocent animals would not know their enemy till they were in its clutches. A hare flies with precipitation from the firſt dog it ever ſaw; and a chicken, upon the firſt ſight of a kite, cowers under its dam. Social animals, without ſcruple, connect with their own kind, and as readily avoid others *. Birds are not afraid of quadrupeds; not

* The populace about Smyrna have a cruel amuſement. They lay the eggs of a hen in a ſtork's neſt. Upon ſeeing the chickens, the male in amazement calls his neighbouring ſtorks together; who, to revenge the affront put upon them, deſtroy the poor innocent female; while he bewails his misfortune in heavy lamentation.

[b] See M. Buffon's natural hiſtory.

even of a cat, till they are taught by experience that a cat is their enemy. They appear to be as little afraid of a man naturally; and upon that account are far from being ſhy when left unmoleſted. In the uninhabited iſland of Viſia Grande, one of the Philippines, Kempfer ſays, that birds may be taken with the hand. Hawks, in ſome of the ſouth-ſea iſlands, are equally tame. At Port Egmont in the Falkland iſlands, geeſe, far from being ſhy, may be knocked down with a ſtick. The birds that inhabit certain rocks hanging over the ſea in the iſland of Annabon, take food readily out of a man's hand. In Arabia Felix, foxes and apes ſhow no fear of man; the inhabitants of hot countries having no notion of hunting. In the uninhabited iſland Bering, adjacent to Kamſkatka, the foxes are ſo little ſhy that they ſcarce go out of a man's way. Doth not this obſervation ſuggeſt a final cauſe? A partridge, a plover, a pheaſant, would be loſt to man for food, were they naturally as much afraid of him as of a hawk or a kite.

The diviſion of animals into different kinds, ſerves another purpoſe, not leſs important than thoſe mentioned; which is, to fit them for different climates. We learn from experience that no animal nor vegetable is fitted for every climate; and from experience we alſo learn, that there is no animal or vegetable but what is fitted for ſome climate, where it grows to perfection. Even in the torrid zone, plants of a cold country are found upon mountains where plants of a hot country will not grow; and the height of a mountain may be determined with tolerable preciſion from the plants it produces. Wheat is not an indigenous plant in Britain;

Britain; no farmer is ignorant that foreign ſeed is requiſite to preſerve the plant in vigour. To prevent flax from degenerating in Scotland and Ireland, great quantities of foreign ſeed are annually imported. A camel is peculiarly fitted for the burning ſands of Arabia; and Lapland would be uninhabitable but for rain-deer, an animal ſo entirely fitted for piercing cold, that it cannot ſubſiſt even in a temperate climate. Arabian and Barbary horſes degenerate in Britain; and to preſerve the breed in ſome degree of perfection, frequent ſupplies from their original climate are requiſite. Spaniſh horſes degenerate in Mexico, but improve in Chili; having more vigour and ſwiftneſs there than even the Andaluſian race, whoſe offspring they are. Our dunghill-fowl, imported originally from a warm country in Aſia, are not hardened, even after many centuries, to bear the cold of this country like birds originally native: the hen lays few or no eggs in winter, unleſs in a houſe warmed with fire. The deſerts of Zaara and Biledulgerid in Africa, may be properly termed the native country of lions: there they grow to nine feet long and five feet high. Lions in the ſouth of Africa toward the Cape of Good Hope, grow but to five feet and a half long, and to three and a half high. A breed of lions tranſplanted from the latter to the former, would riſe to the full ſize; and ſink to the ſmaller ſize, if tranſplanted from the former to the latter.

To preſerve the different ſpecies of animals entire, as far as neceſſary, providence is careful to prevent a mixed breed. Few animals of different ſpecies copulate together. Some may be brought to copulate, but without effect; and ſome produce a mongrel,

a mongrel, a mule for example, which ſeldom procreates if at all. In ſome few inſtances, where a mixture of ſpecies is harmleſs, procreation goes on without limitation. All the different ſpecies of the dog kind copulate together, and the mongrels produced generate others without end. But dogs are by their nature companions to men; and Providence probably has permitted a mixture, in order that every man may have a dog to his liking.

M. Buffon in his natural hiſtory borrows from Ray [c] a very artificial rule for aſcertaining the different ſpecies of animals: "Any two animals that "can procreate together, and whoſe iſſue can alſo "procreate, are of the ſame ſpecies [d]." A horſe and an aſs can procreate together; but they are not, ſays he, of the ſame ſpecies, becauſe their iſſue, a mule, cannot procreate. He applies that rule to the human race; holding all men to be of one race or ſpecies, becauſe a man and a woman, however different in ſize, in ſhape, in complexion, can procreate together without end. And by the ſame rule he holds all dogs to be of one ſpecies. With reſpect to other animals, the rule ſhould paſs without oppoſition from me; but as it alſo reſpects man, the ſubject of the preſent enquiry, I propoſe to examine it with attention. Providence, it is true, hath prevented confuſion; for in moſt inſtances it hath with-held from animals of different ſpecies a power of procreating together; but as our author has not attempted to prove that ſuch reſtraint is univerſal without a ſingle exception,

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c Wiſdom of God in the works of creation.

d Octavo edit. vol. 8. p. 104. and in many other parts.

his

his rule is evidently a petitio principii. Why may not two animals different in ſpecies produce a mixed breed? Buffon muſt ſay, that by a law of nature animals of different ſpecies never produce a mixed breed? But has he proved this to be a law of nature? On the contrary, he more than once mentions ſeveral exceptions. He admits the ſheep and the goat to be of a different ſpecies; and yet we have his authority for affirming, that a he-goat and a ewe produce a mixed breed which generate for ever [e]. The camel and the dromedary, though nearly related, are however no leſs diſtinct than the horſe and the aſs. The dromedary is leſs than the camel, more ſlender, and remarkably more ſwift of foot: it has but one bunch on its back, the camel has two; the race is more numerous than that of the camel, and more widely ſpread. One would not deſire diſtinguiſhing marks more ſatisfying; and yet theſe two ſpecies propogate together no leſs freely than the different races of men and of dogs. Buffon, indeed, with reſpect to the camel and dromedary, endeavours to ſave his credit, by a diſtinction without a difference. "They are," ſays he, "one ſpecies; but their races are diffe-"rent, and have been ſo paſt all memory [f]." Does this ſay more than that the camel and the dromedary are different ſpecies of the ſame genus? which alſo holds true of the different ſpecies of men and of dogs. If our author will permit me to carry back to the creation the camel and the dro-

[e] Vol. 10. p. 138.
[f] Vol. 10. p. 1.

medary

medary as two diſtinct races, I deſire no other conceſſion. He admits no fewer than ten kinds of goats, viſibly diſtinguiſhable, which alſo propagate together; but ſays that theſe are varieties only, though permanent and unchangeable. No difficulty is unſurmountable if words be allowed to paſs without meaning. Nor does he even preſerve any conſiſtency in his opinions: though in diſtinguiſhing a horſe from an aſs, he affirms the mule they generate to be barren, yet afterward, entirely forgetting his rule, he admits the direct contrary [s]. At that rate a horſe and an aſs are of the ſame ſpecies. Did it never once enter into the mind of this author, that the human race would be ſtrangely imperfect, if they were unable to diſtinguiſh a man from a monkey, or a hare from a hedge-hog, till it were known whether they can procreate together?

But it ſeems unneceſſary after all to urge any argument againſt the foregoing rule, which M. Buffon himſelf inadvertently abandons as to all animals, men and dogs excepted. We are indebted to him for a remark, That not a ſingle animal of the torrid zone is common to the old world and to the new. But how does he verify his remark? Does he ever think of trying whether ſuch animals can procreate together? "They are," ſays he, "of "different kinds, having no ſuch reſemblance as to "make us pronounce them to be of the ſame kind. "Linnæus and Briſſon," he adds, "have very "improperly given the name of the camel to the "lama and the pacos of Peru. So apparent is the "difference, that other writers claſs theſe animals

[s] Vol. 12, p. 223.

"with

" with ſheep. Wool however is the only circum-
" ſtance in which a pacos reſembles a ſheep: nor
" doth the lama reſemble a camel except in length
" of neck." He diſtinguiſheth in the ſame manner, the true Aſiatic tiger from ſeveral American animals that bear the ſame name. He mentions its ſize, its force, its ferocity, the colour of its hair, the ſtrips black and white that like rings ſurround alternately its trunk, and are continued to the end of its tail; " characters," ſays he, " that clearly diſtinguiſh the true tiger from all
" animals of prey in the new world; the largeſt
" of which ſcarce equals one of our maſtives." And he reaſons in the ſame manner upon the other animals of the torrid zone [h]. Here then we have M. Buffon's authority againſt himſelf, that there are different races of men; for he cannot deny that certain tribes differ apparently from each other, not leſs than the lama and pacos from the camel or from the ſheep, not leſs than the true tiger from the American animals of that name. Which of his rules are we to follow? Muſt we apply different rules to different animals? and to what animals are we to apply the different rules? For proving that dogs were created of different kinds, what better evidence can be expected than that the kinds continue diſtinct to this day? Our author pretends to derive the maſtiff, the bull-dog, the hound, the grey-hound, the terrier, the water-dog, &c. all of them from the prickt-ear ſhepherd's cur. Now, admitting the progeny of the original male and female cur to have ſuffered every poſſible alteration

[h] See vol. 8. Of animals common to the two continents.

from climate, food, domeſtication; the reſult would be endleſs varieties, ſo as that no one individual ſhould reſemble another. Whence then are derived the different ſpecies of dogs above-mentioned, or the different races or varieties, as M. Buffon is pleaſed to name them? Uniformity and permanency muſt be a law in their nature, for they never can be the production of chance. There are mongrels, it is true, among dogs, from want of choice, or from a depraved appetite: but as all animals prefer their own kind, mongrels are few compared with animals of a true breed. There are mongrels alſo among men: the ſeveral kinds however continue diſtinct; and probably will ſo continue for ever.

The celebrated Linnæus, inſtead of deſcribing every animal according to its kind, as Adam our firſt parent did, and Buffon copying from him, has wandered wonderfully far from nature in claſſing animals. He diſtributes them into ſix claſſes, viz. Mammalia, Aves, Amphibia, Piſces, Inſecta, Vermes. The Mammalia are diſtributed into ſeven orders, chiefly from their teeth, viz. Primates, Bruta, Feræ, Glires, Pecora, Belluæ, Cete. And the Primates are Homo, Simia, Lemur, Veſpertilio. What may have been his purpoſe in claſſing animals ſo, I cannot gueſs, if it be not to enable us, from the nipples and teeth of any particular animal, to know where it lies in his book. It reſembles the claſſing books in a library by ſize, or by binding, without any regard to the contents. It may ſerve as a ſort of dictionary; but to no other purpoſe ſo far as I can diſcover. How whimſical is it to claſs together animals that nature hath widely ſeparated, a man, for example, and a bat? What will a plain man

man think of a method of claſſing that denies a whale to be a fiſh? Beſide, one would wiſh to know why in claſſing animals he confines himſelf to the nipples and the teeth, when there are many other diſtinguiſhing marks. Animals are not leſs diſtinguiſhable by their tails; long tails, ſhort tails, no tails: nor leſs diſtinguiſhable by their hands, ſome having four hands, ſome two, ſome none, &c. &c. At the ſame time, if any ſolid inſtruction is to be acquired from ſuch claſſing, I ſhall liſten, not only with attention, but with ſatisfaction.

And now more particularly of man, after diſcuſſing other animals. If the only rule afforded by nature for claſſing animals can be depended on, there are different races of men as well as of dogs: a maſtiff differs not more from a ſpaniel, than a white man from a negro, or a Laplander from a Dane. And if we have any faith in Providence it ought to be ſo. Plants were created of different kinds to fit them for different climates, and ſo were brute animals. Certain it is, that all men are not fitted equally for every climate. There is ſcarce a climate but what is natural to ſome men, where they proſper and flouriſh; and there is not a climate but where ſome men degenerate. Doth not then analogy lead us to conclude, that as there are different climates on the face of this globe, ſo there are different races of men fitted for theſe different climates? The inhabitants of the frozen regions of the north, men, birds, beaſts, fiſh, are all of them provided with a quantity of fat which guards them againſt cold. Even the trees are full of roſin. The Eſquimaux inhabit a bitter cold country; and their blood and breath are remarkably warm. The iſland

St. Thomas, under the line, is extremely foggy; and the natives are fitted for that ſort of weather, by the rigidity of their fibres. The fog is diſpelled in July and Auguſt by dry winds; which give vigour to Europeans, whoſe fibres are relaxed by the moiſture of the atmoſphere, as by a warm bath. The natives, on the contrary, who are not fitted for a dry air, have more diſeaſes in July and Auguſt than during the other ten months. On the other hand, inſtances are without number of men degenerating in a climate to which they are not fitted by nature; and I know not of a ſingle inſtance where in ſuch a climate people have retained their original vigour. Several European colonies have ſubſiſted in the torrid zone of America more than two centuries; and yet even that length of time has not familiariſed them to the climate: they cannot bear heat like the original inhabitants, nor like negroes tranſplanted from a country equally hot: they are far from equalling in vigour of mind or body the nations from which they ſprung. The Spaniſh inhabitants of Carthagena in South America loſe their vigour and colour in a few months. Their motion is languid; and their words are pronounced with a low voice, and with long and frequent intervals. Europeans who are born in Batavia ſoon degenerate. Scarce one of them has talents ſufficient to bear a part in the adminiſtration. There is not an office of truſt or figure but what is filled with native Europeans. Some Portugueſe, who have been for ages ſettled on the ſea-coaſt of Congo, retain ſcarce the appearance of men. South Carolina, eſpecially about Charleſtown, is extremely hot, having no ſea-breeze to cool the air. Europeans there die ſo faſt that they have

have not time to degenerate. Even in Jamaica, tho' more temperate by a regular ſucceſſion of land and ſea-breezes, recruits from Britain are neceſſary to keep up the numbers. The climate of the northern provinces reſembles our own, and population goes on with great rapidity.

Thus it appears that there are different races of men fitted by nature for different climates. Upon a thorough examination another fact will perhaps alſo appear, that the natural productions of each climate make the moſt wholeſome food for the people who are fitted to live in it. Between the tropics, the natives live chiefly on fruits, ſeeds, and roots; and it is the opinion of the moſt knowing naturaliſts, that ſuch food is of all the moſt wholeſome for the torrid zone, comprehending the hot plants, which grow there to perfection, and tend greatly to fortify the ſtomach. In a temperate climate, a mixture of animal and vegetable food is held to be the moſt wholeſome; and there both animals and vegetables abound. In a cold climate, animals are in plenty, but ſcarce any vegetables that can ſerve for food to man. What phyſicians pronounce upon that head, I know not; but if we dare venture a conjecture from analogy, animal food will be found the moſt wholeſome for ſuch as are made by nature to live in a cold climate.

M. Buffon, from the rule, That animals which can procreate together, and whoſe progeny can alſo procreate, are of one ſpecies, concludes, that all men are of one race or ſpecies; and endeavours to ſupport that favourite opinion by aſcribing to the climate, to food, or to other accidental cauſes, all the varieties that are found among men. But is he ſe-

rioufly

riouſly of opinion, that any operation of climate, or of other accidental cauſe, can account for the copper colour and ſmooth chin univerſal among the Americans, the prominence of the pudenda univerſal among Hottentot women, or the black nipple no leſs univerſal among female Samoides? The thick fogs of the iſland St. Thomas may relax the fibres of the natives, but cannot make them more rigid than they are naturally. Whence then the difference with reſpect to rigidity of fibres between them and Europeans, but from original nature? It is in vain to aſcribe to the climate the low ſtature of the Eſquimaux, the ſmallneſs of their feet, or the overgrown ſize of their head. It is equally in vain to aſcribe to climate the low ſtature of the Laplanders*, or their ugly viſage. Lapland is indeed piercingly cold; but ſo is Finland, and the northern parts of Norway, the inhabitants of which are tall, comely, and well proportioned. The black colour of negroes, thick lips, flat noſe, criſped woolly hair, and rank ſmell, diſtinguiſh them from every other race of men. The Abyſſinians on the contrary are tall and well made, their complexion a brown olive, features well proportioned, eyes large and of a ſparkling black, thin lips, a noſe rather high than flat. There is no ſuch difference of climate between Abyſſinia and Negroland as to produce theſe ſtriking differences. At any rate, there muſt be a conſiderable

* By late accounts it appears that the Laplanders are only degenerated Tartars; and that they and the Hungarians originally ſprung from the ſame breed of men, and from the ſame country. Pere Hel, the Jeſuit, an Hungarian, made lately this diſcovery, when ſent to Lapland for making ſome aſtronomical obſervations.

mixture

mixture both of ſoil and climate in theſe extenſive regions; and yet not the leaſt mixture is perceived in the people.

If the climate have any commanding influence it muſt be chiefly diſplayed upon the complexion; and in that article accordingly our author exults. "Man, "ſays he, white in Europe, black in Africa, yellow "in Aſia, and red in America, is ſtill the ſame ani- "mal, tinged only with the colour of the climate. "Where the heat is exceſſive, as in Guinea and "Senegal, the people are perfectly black; where "leſs exceſſive, as in Abyſſinia, the people are leſs "black; where it is more temperate, as in Barba- "ry and in Arabia, they are brown; and where "mild, as in Europe and Leſſer Aſia, they are "fair [1]." But here he triumphs without a victory: he is forced to acknowledge, that the Samoides, Laplanders, and Greenlanders, are of a ſallow complexion; for which he has the following ſalvo, that the extremities of heat and of cold produce nearly the ſame effects on the ſkin. But he is totally ſilent upon a fact that ſingly overturns his whole ſyſtem of colour, viz. that all Americans without exception are of a copper-colour, though in that vaſt continent there is every variety of climate. Neither doth the black colour of ſome Africans, nor the brown colour of others, correſpond to the climate. The people of the deſart of Zaara, commonly termed Lower Ethiopia, though expoſed to the vertical rays of the ſun in a burning ſand yielding not even to Guinea in heat, are of a tawny colour, far from

[1] Book 5.

being

being jet black like negroes, the natives of Monomotapa are perfectly black, with criſped woolly hair, though the ſouthern parts of that extenſive kingdom are in a temperate climate, very different from that of Guinea. And the Caffres, even thoſe who live near the Cape of Good Hope, are the ſame ſort of people. The heat of Abyſſinia approacheth nearer to that of Guinea; and yet, as mentioned above, the inhabitants are not black. Nor ſhall our author's ingenious obſervation concerning the extremities of heat and cold purchaſe him impunity with reſpect to the ſallow complexion of the Samoides, Laplanders, and Greenlanders. The Finlanders and northern Norwegians live in a climate not leſs cold than that of the people mentioned; and yet are fair beyond other Europeans. I ſay more, there are many inſtances of races of people preſerving their original colour in climates very different from their own; but not a ſingle inſtance of the contrary ſo far as I can learn. There have been four complete generations of negroes in Pennſylvania, without any viſible change of colour: they continue jet black as originally. Shaw, in his travels through Barbary, mentions a people inhabiting the mountains of Aureſs bordering upon Algiers on the ſouth, who appeared to be of a different race from the Moors. Their complexion, far from ſwarthy, is fair and ruddy; and their hair a deep yellow, inſtead of being dark as among the neighbouring Moors. He conjectures them to be a remnant of the Vandals, perhaps the tribe mentioned by Procopius in his firſt book of the Vandalic war. If the European complexion be proof againſt a hot climate for a thouſand years, I pronounce that it will never

never yield to climate. In the ſuburbs of Cochin, a town in Malabar, there is a colony of induſtrious Jews of the ſame complexion they have in Europe. They pretend they were eſtabliſhed there during the captivity of Babylon: it is unqueſtionable that they have been many ages in that country. Thoſe who aſcribe all to the ſun, ought to conſider how little probable it is, that the colour it impreſſes on the parents ſhould be communicated to their infant children, who never ſaw the ſun; I ſhould be as ſoon induced to believe with a German naturaliſt, whoſe name has eſcaped me, that the negro colour is owing to an ancient cuſtom in Africa of dying the ſkin black. Let a Europoan for ſome years expoſe himſelf to the ſun in a hot climate, till he be quite brown, his children will nevertheleſs have the ſame complexion with thoſe in Europe. The Hottentots are continually at work, and have been for ages, to darken their complexion; but that operation has no effect on their children. From the action of the ſun is it poſſible to explain, why a negro, like a European, is born with a ruddy ſkin, which turns jet black the eigth or ninth day?

Different tribes are diſtinguiſhable, not leſs by internal diſpoſition than by external figure. Nations are for the moſt part ſo blended by war, by commerce, or by other means, that vain would be the attempt to trace out an original character in any cultivated nation. But there are ſavage tribes, which, ſo far as can be diſcovered, continue to this day pure without mixture, who act by inſtinct not art, who have not learned to diſguiſe their paſſions: to ſuch I confine the inquiry. There is no propenſity in human nature more general than averſion to

 ſtrangers,

ſtrangers, as will be made evident in a following ſketch [k]. And yet ſome nations muſt be excepted, not indeed many in number, who are remarkably kind to ſtrangers; by which circumſtance they appear to be of a peculiar race. In order to ſet the exceptions in a clear light, a few inſtances ſhall be premiſed of the general propenſity. The nations that may be the moſt relied on for an original character, are iſlanders at a diſtance from the continent and from each other. Among ſuch, great variety of character is found. Some iſlands adjacent to New Guinea, are inhabited by negroes, a bold, miſchievous, untractable race; always ready to attack ſtrangers when they approach the ſhore. The people of New Zealand are of a large ſize and of a hoarſe voice. They appeared ſhy, according to Taſman's account. Some of them however ventured on board in order to trade; but finding opportunity, they ſurprized ſeven of his men in a ſhallop, and without the ſlighteſt provocation killed three of them, the reſt having eſcaped by ſwiming. The iſland called Recreation, 16th degree of ſouthern latitude and 148th of longitude weſt from London, was diſcovered in Roggewein's voyage. Upon ſight of the ſhips, the natives flocked to the ſhore with long pikes. The crew made good their landing, having beat back the natives by a continued fire of muſkets; who, returning after a ſhort interval, accepted preſents of beads, ſmall looking-glaſſes, and other trinkets, without ſhewing the leaſt fear: they even aſſiſted the crew in gathering herbs for thoſe

[k] Book 2. Sketch 1.

who

who were afflicted with the ſcurvy. Some of the crew traverſing the iſland in great ſecurity, and truſting to ſome of the natives who led the way, were carried into a deep valley ſurrounded with rocks; where they were inſtantly attacked on every ſide with large ſtones; and with difficulty made their eſcape, but not without leaving ſeveral dead upon the field. In Commodore Byron's voyage to the South ſea, an iſland was diſcovered named Diſappointment. The ſhore was filled with natives in arms to prevent landing. They were black, and without cloathing, except what covered the parts that nature teaches to hide. But a ſpecimen is ſufficient here, as the ſubject will be fully illuſtrated in the ſketch referred to above.

The kindneſs of ſome tribes to ſtrangers deſerves more attention, being not a little ſingular. Gonneville, commander of a French ſhip in a voyage to the Eaſt Indies in the year 1503, was probably the firſt European who viſited the Terra Auſtralis Incognita; being driven thither by a tempeſt. He continued ſix months in that country, while his veſſel was refitting; and the manners he deſcribes were in all appearance original. The natives had not made a greater progreſs in the arts of life than the ſavage Canadians have done; ill clothed; and worſe lodged, having no light in their cabins but what came in through a hole in the roof. They were divided into ſmall tribes governed each by a king; who, though neither better clothed nor lodged than others, had power of life and death over his ſubjects. They were a ſimple and peaceable people; and in a manner worſhipped the French, providing them with neceſſaries, and in return thank-

fully receiving knives, hatchets, ſmall looking-glaſſes, and other ſuch baubles. In a part of California the men go naked; and are fond of feathers and ſhells. They are governed by a king, with great mildneſs; and of all ſavages are the moſt humane, even to ſtrangers. An iſland diſcovered in the South ſea by Taſman, 21ſt degree of ſouthern latitude and 177th of longitude weſt from London, was called by him Amſterdam. The natives, who had no arms offenſive nor defenſive, treated the Dutch with great civility, except in being given to pilfering. At no great diſtance another iſland was diſcovered, named Annamocha by the natives, and Rotterdam by Taſman; poſſeſſed by a people reſembling thoſe laſt mentioned, particularly in having no arms. The Dutch, ſailing round the iſland, ſaw abundance of cocoa-trees planted in rows, with many other fruit-bearing trees, kept in excellent order. Commodore Roggewein, commander of a Dutch fleet, diſcovered, anno 1721, a new iſland in the South-ſea; inhabited by a people lively, active, and ſwift of foot; of a ſweet and modeſt deportment: but timorous and faint-hearted; for having on their knees preſented ſome refreſhments to the Dutch, they retired with precipitation. Numbers of idols cut in ſtone were ſet up along the coaſt in the figure of men with large ears, and the head covered with a crown; the whole nicely proportioned, and highly finiſhed. They fled for refuge to theſe idols: and they could do no better; for they had no weapons either offenſive or defenſive. Neither was there any appearance of government or ſubordination; for they all ſpoke and acted with equal freedom. This iſland, ſituated 28 degrees 30 minutes

ſouthern

ſouthern latitude, and about 115 degrees of longitude weſt from London, is by the Dutch called Eaſter or Paſch iſland *. The Commodore directing his courſe north-weſt, diſcovered in the ſouthern latitude of 12 degrees, and in the longitude of 190, a cluſter of other iſlands, planted with variety of fruit-trees, and bearing herbs, corn, and roots in plenty. When the ſhips approached the ſhore, the inhabitants came in their canoes with fiſh, cocoa-nuts, Indian figs, and other refreſhments; for which they received ſmall looking-glaſſes, ſtrings of beads, and other toys. Theſe iſlands were well-peopled: many thouſands thronged to the ſhore to ſee the ſhips, the men being armed with bows and arrows, and appearing to be governed by a chieftain: they were of the ſame complexion with thoſe of Europe, only a little more ſun-burnt. They were briſk and lively, treating one another with civility; and in their behaviour expreſſing nothing wild nor ſavage. Their bodies were not painted; but handſomely clothed, from the middle downward, with ſilk fringes in neat folds. Large hats ſcreened their faces from the ſun, and collars of odoriferous flowers ſurrounded their necks. The face of the country is charming, being finely diverſified with hills and vallies. Some of the iſlands are ten miles in circumference, ſome fifteen, and ſome twenty. The hiſtorian adds, that theſe iſlanders are in all reſpects the moſt civilized and the beſt tempered people they diſcovered in the South-ſea. Far from

* The women were very loving, enticing the Dutchmen by every female art to the moſt intimate familiarity.

being

being afraid, they treated the Dutch with great kindneſs; and expreſſed much regret at their departure. Theſe iſlands got the name of Bowman's iſlands, from the captain of the Tienhoven, who diſcovered them. In Commodore Byron's voyage to the South ſea, while they were paſſing through the ſtreights of Magellan, ſome natives approached in their canoes; and upon invitation came on board, without fear, or even ſhyneſs. They at the ſame time appeared groſly ſtupid; and particularly could not comprehend the uſe of knives, offered to them in a preſent. In another part of the ſtreights, the natives were highly delighted with the preſents made them. M. Bougainville, in his voyage round the world, deſcribes a people in the ſtreights of Magellan, probably thoſe laſt mentioned, as of a ſmall ſtature, tame and peaceable, having ſcarce any clothing in a climate bitterly cold. Commodore Byron diſcovered another iſland in the South ſea covered with trees, which was named Byron iſland. The inhabitants were neither ſavage nor ſhy, trafficking freely with the crew, though they ſeemed addicted to thieving. One of them ventured into the ſhip. After leaving Otaheite, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, ſailing weſtward, diſcovered a cluſter of iſlands, termed by them Society iſlands: the natives were extremely civil, and appeared to have no averſion to ſtrangers. The iſland of Oahena, north-weſt from that of Otaheite, is a delightful ſpot; the ſoil fertile, and the ſhores adorned with fruit-trees of various kinds. The inhabitants are well-proportioned, with regular engaging features; the women uncommonly beautiful and delicate. The inhabitants behaved with great hoſpitality and

probity

probity to the people of the ſhip in which theſe gentlemen made a late voyage round the world.

To find the inhabitants of theſe remote iſlands differing ſo widely from the reſt of the world as to have no averſion to ſtrangers, but on the contrary ſhowing great kindneſs to the firſt they probably ever ſaw, is a ſingular phenomenon. It is in vain here to talk of climate; becauſe in all climates we find an averſion to ſtrangers. From the inſtances given above, let us ſelect two iſlands, or two cluſters of iſlands, ſuppoſe, for example, Bowman's iſlands inhabited by Whites, and thoſe adjacent to New Guinea inhabited by Blacks. Kindneſs to ſtrangers is the national character of the former, and hatred to ſtrangers is the national character of the latter. Virtues and vices as entering into the characters of individuals, depend on cauſes ſo various, and ſo variable, as to give an impreſſion of chance more than of deſign. We are not always certain of uniformity in the conduct even of the ſame perſon; far leſs that ſons will inherit their father's virtues or vices. In moſt countries, a ſavage who has no averſion to ſtrangers, nor to neighbouring clans, would be noted as ſingular: to find the ſame quality in every one of his children, would be ſurprizing: and would be ſtill more ſo, were it diffuſed widely through a multitude of his deſcendents. Yet a family is as nothing compared with a whole nation; and when we find kindneſs to ſtrangers a national character in certain tribes, we reject with diſdain the notion of chance, and perceive intuitively, that effects ſo regular and permanent muſt be owing to a conſtant and invariable cauſe. Such effects cannot be accidental, more than the uniformity of male

and

and female births in all countries and at all times. They cannot be accounted for from education or example, which indeed may contribute to ſpread a certain faſhion or certain manners, but cannot be their fundamental cauſe. Where the greater part of a nation is of one character, education and example may extend it over the whole; but the character of that greater part can have no foundation but nature.

What reſource then have we for explaining the oppoſite manners of the iſlanders above mentioned, but that they are of different races?

The ſame doctrine is ſtrongly confirmed upon finding courage or cowardice to be a national character. Individuals differ widely as to theſe; but a national character of courage or cowardice muſt depend on a permanent and invariable cauſe. I therefore proceed to inſtances of national courage and cowardice, that the reader may judge for himſelf, whether he can diſcover any other cauſe for ſuch ſteady uniformity but diverſity of race.

The northern nations of Europe and Aſia have at all times been remarkable for courage. Lucan endeavours to account for the courage of the Scandinavians from a firm belief, univerſal among them, that they ſhould be happy in another world.

*Vobis auctoribus, umbræ,*
*Non tacitas Erebi ſedes, Ditiſque profundi*
*Pallida regna petunt; regit idem ſpiritus artus*
*Orbe alio: longæ (canitis ſi cognita) vitæ*
*Mors media eſt. Certe populi, quos deſpicit Arctos,*
*Felices errore ſuo; quos ille, timorum*
*Maximus, haud urget leri metus. Inde ruendi*

*In*

*In ferrum mens prona viris animæque capaces*
*Motis* [l] *.

Pretty well for a poet! but among all nations the ſoul is believed to be immortal, though all nations have not the courage of the Scandinavians. The Caledonians were eminent for that virtue; and yet had no ſuch opinion of happineſs after death as to make them fond of dying. Souls after death were believed to have but a gloomy ſort of exiſtence, like what is deſcribed by Homer [m]. Their courage therefore was a gift of nature, not of faith. The people of Malacca and of the neighbouring iſlands, who are all of the ſame race and ſpeak the ſame language, are fierce, turbulent, and bold above any of the human ſpecies, though they inabit the torrid zone, held commonly to be the land of cowardice. They never obſerve a treaty of peace when they

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* "If dying mortals dooms they ſing aright,
"No ghoſts deſcend to dwell in endleſs night;
"No parting ſouls to griſly Pluto go,
"Nor ſeek the dreary ſilent ſhades below;
"But forth they fly immortal in their kind,
"And other bodies in new worlds they find.
"Thus life for ever runs its endleſs race,
"And, like a line, death but divides the ſpace;
"A ſtop which can but for a moment laſt,
"A point between the future and the paſt.
"Thrice happy they beneath the northern ſkies,
"Who that worſt fear, the fear of death, deſpiſe;
"Hence they no cares for this frail being feel,
"But ruſh undaunted on the pointed ſteel;
"Provoke approaching fate, and bravely ſcorn
"To ſpare that life which muſt ſo ſoon return.

*Rowe.*

l Lib. 1.
m Odyſſey, b. 11.

have any temptation to break it; and are perpetually at war with their neighbours, or with one another. Inſtances there are, more than one, of twenty-five or thirty of them in a boat venturing, with no other weapons but poinards to attack a European ſhip of war. Theſe men inhabit a moſt fruitful country, which ſhould naturally render them indolent and effeminate; a country abounding with variety of exquiſite fruits and odoriferous flowers in endleſs ſucceſſion; ſufficient to ſink any other people into voluptuouſneſs. They are a remarkable exception from the obſervation of Herodotus, "That "it is not given by the gods to any country, to pro-"duce rich crops and warlike men." This inſtance, with what are to follow, ſhow paſt contradiction, that a hot climate is no enemy to courage. The inhabitants of New Zealand are of all men the moſt intrepid, and the leaſt apt to be alarmed at danger. The Giagas are a fierce and bold people in the midſt of the torrid zone of Africa: and ſo are the Anſieki, bordering on Loango. The wild Arabs, who live moſtly within the torrid zone, are bold and reſolute, holding war to be intended for them by providence. The African negroes, though living in the hotteſt known country, are yet ſtout and vigorous, and the moſt healthy people in the univerſe. I need ſcarce mention again the negroes adjacent to New Guinea, who have an uncommon degree of boldneſs and ferocity. But I mention with pleaſure the iſland Otaheite, diſcovered in the South ſea by Wallis, becauſe the inhabitants are not exceeded by any other people in firmneſs of mind. The inhabitants are numerous; and though the Dolphin was probably the firſt ſhip they had ever

ſeen,

ſeen, yet they reſolutely marched to the ſhore, and attacked her with a ſhower of ſtones. Some volleys of ſmall ſhot made them give way: but returning with redoubled ardour, they did not totally loſe heart, till the great guns thundered in their ears. Nor even then did they run away in terror; but adviſing together, they aſſumed looks of peace, and ſignified a willingneſs to forbear hoſtilities. Peace being ſettled, they were ſingularly kind to our people, ſupplying their wants and mixing with them in friendly intercourſe *. When Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were on the coaſt of New Holland, the natives ſeeing ſome of our men fiſhing near the ſhore, ſingled out a number of their own equal to thoſe in the boat, who marching down to the water-edge, challenged the ſtrangers to fight them; an inſtance of the moſt heroic courage. The people in that part of New-Holland muſt be a very different race from thoſe whom Dampier ſaw.

A noted author [n] holds all ſavages to be bold, impetuous, aud proud; aſſigning for a cauſe, their equality and independence. As in that obſervation he ſeems to lay no weight on climate, and as little on original diſpoſition, it is with regret that my ſubject leads me in this public manner to differ from him with reſpect to the latter. The character he gives in general to all ſavages, is indeed applicable to many ſavage tribes, our European forefathers in particular; but not to all. It but faintly

* It is remarkable that theſe people roaſt their meat with hot ſtones, as the Caledonians did in the days of Oſſian.

n Mr. Ferguſon.

ſuits even the North-American ſavages, whom our author ſeems to have had in his eye; for in war they carefully avoid open force, relying chiefly on ſtratagem and ſurpriſe. They value themſelves, it is ſaid, upon ſaving men; but as that motive was no leſs weighty in Europe, and indeed every where, the proneneſs of our forefathers to open violence vouches for their ſuperiority in active courage. The following incidents, reported by Charlevoix, give no favourable idea of ſome North-Americans with regard to that ſort of courage. The fort de Vercheres in Canada, belonging to the French, was in the year 1690 attacked by ſome Iroquois. They approached ſilently, preparing to ſcale the paliſade, when ſome muſket-ſhot made them retire. Advancing a ſecond time, they were again repulſed, wondering that they could diſcover none but a woman, who was ſeen every where. This was Madame de Vercheres, who appeared as reſolute as if ſupported by a numerous garriſon. The hopes of ſtorming a place without men to defend it, occaſioned reiterated attacks. After two days ſiege, they retired, fearing to be intercepted in their retreat. Two years after, a party of the ſame nation appeared before the fort ſo unexpectedly, that a girl of fourteen, daughter of the proprietor, had but time to ſhut the gate. With the young woman there was not a ſoul but one raw ſoldier. She ſhewed herſelf with her aſſiſtant, ſometimes in one place, ſometimes in another; changing her dreſs frequently in order to give ſome appearance of a garriſon, and always fired opportunely. The faint-hearted Iroquois decamped without ſucceſs.

But

But if the Americans abound not with active courage, their paſſive courage is beyond conception. Every writer expatiates upon the torments they endure, not only patiently, but with ſingular fortitude; deriding their tormentors, and braving their utmoſt cruelty. North-American ſavages differ indeed ſo widely from thoſe formerly in Europe, that it is difficult to conceive them to be of the ſame race. Paſſive courage they have, even to a wonder; but abound not in active courage: our European forefathers, on the contrary, were much more remarkable for active courage than for paſſive. The Kamſkatkans in every article reſemble the North-Americans. In war they are full of ſtratagem, but never attack openly if they can avoid it. When victorious, they murder without mercy, burn their priſoners alive, or tear out their bowels. If they be ſurrounded, and cannot eſcape, they turn deſperate, cut the throats of their wives and children, and throw themſelves into the midſt of their enemies. And yet theſe people are abundantly free. Their want of active courage is the more ſurpriſing, becauſe they make no difficulty of ſuicide when they fall into any diſtreſs. But their paſſive courage is equal to that of the Americans: when tortured in order to extort a confeſſion, they ſhow the utmoſt firmneſs; and ſeldom diſcover more than what they freely confeſs at their firſt examination.

The ſavages of Guiana are indolent, good-natured, ſubmiſſive, and a little cowardly; though they yield not to the North-Americans as to equality and independence. The inhabitants of the Marion or Ladrone iſlands live in a ſtate of perfect equality;

quality: every man avenges the injury done to himſelf; and even children are regardleſs of their parents. Yet theſe people are great cowards; in battle indeed they utter loud ſhouts; but it is more to animate themſelves than to terrify the enemy. The negroes in the ſlave-coaſt of Guinea are good-natured and obliging; but not remarkable for courage. The Laplanders are of all the human ſpecies the moſt timid: upon the ſlighteſt ſurpriſe they fall down in a ſwoon like the feebleſt female in England: thunder ſhakes them to pieces. The face of their country is nothing but rocks covered with moſs: it would be ſcarce habitable but for rain-deer, on which the Laplanders chiefly depend for food.

The Macaſſars, inhabitants of the iſland Celebes in the torrid zone, differ from all other people. They have active courage above even the fierceſt European ſavages; and they equal the North-American ſavages in paſſive courage. During the reign of Chaw Naraya, King of Siam, a ſmall party of Macaſſars, who were in the king's pay, having revolted, it required a whole army of Siamites to ſubdue them. Four Macaſſars, taken alive, were cruelly tortured. They were beat to mummy with cudgels, iron pins thruſt under their nails, all their fingers broken, the fleſh burnt off their arms, and their temples ſqueezed between boards; yet they bore all with unparalleled firmneſs. They even refuſed to be converted to Chriſtianity, though the Jeſuits upon that occaſion offered to intercede for them. A tiger, let looſe, having faſtened on the foot of one of them, the man never once offered to draw it away. Another, without uttering a word,

bore

bore the tiger breaking the bones of his back, A third ſuffered the animal to lick the blood from his face, without ſhrinking, or turning away his eyes. During the whole of that horrid ſpectacle, they never once bewailed themſelves, nor were heard to groan.

In concluding from the foregoing facts, that there are different races of men, I reckon upon ſtrenuous oppoſition, not only from men biaſſed againſt what is new or uncommon, but from numberleſs ſedate writers, who hold every diſtinguiſhing mark, internal as well as external, to be the effect of ſoil and climate. Againſt the former, patience is my only ſhield; but I cannot hope for any converts to a new opinion, without removing the arguments urged by the latter.

Among the endleſs number of writers who aſcribe ſupreme efficacy to the climate, Vitruvius ſhall take the lead. The firſt chapter of his ſixth book is entirely employed in deſcribing the influence of climate on the conſtitution and temper of the natives. The following is the ſubſtance: "For the "ſun, where he throws out a moderate degree of "moiſture, preſerves the body in a temperate ſtate; "but where his rays are more fierce, he drains the "body of moiſture. In very cold regions, where "the moiſture is not ſucked up by the heat, the "body, ſucking in the dewy air, riſes to a great "ſize, and has a deep tone of voice. Northern "nations accordingly, from cold and moiſture, "have large bodies, a white ſkin, red hair, grey "eyes, and much blood. Nations, on the con-"trary, near the equator, are of ſmall ſtature, "tawny complexion, curled hair, black eyes, "ſlender

" ſlender legs, and little blood. From want of " blood, they are cowardly: but they bear fevers " well, their conſtitution being formed by heat. " Northern nations, on the contrary, ſink under a " fever; but from the abundance of blood, they " are bold in war." In another part of the chapter, he adds, " From the thinneſs of the air, and en- " livening heat, ſouthern nations are quick in " thought, and acute in reaſoning. Thoſe in the " north, on the contrary, which breathe a thick " and cold air, are dull and ſtupid." And this he illuſtrates from the caſe of ſerpents, which in ſummer-heat are active and vigorous; but in winter, become torpid and immoveable. He then proceeds as follows. " It is then not at all ſur- " priſing, that heat ſhould ſharpen the underſtand- " ing, and cold blunt it. Thus the ſouthern na- " tions are ready in counſel and acute in thought; " but make no figure in war, their courage being " exhauſted by the heat of the ſun. The inhabi- " tants of cold climates, prone to war, ruſh on " with vehemence without the leaſt fear; but are " ſlow of underſtanding." Then he proceeds to account, upon the ſame principle, for the ſuperiority of the Romans in arms, and for the extent of their empire. " For as the planet Jupiter lies be- " twcen the fervid heat of Mars and the bitter cold " of Saturn; ſo Italy, in the middle of the tem- " perate zone, poſſeſſes all that is favourable in ei- " ther climate. Thus by conduct in war ſhe over- " comes the impetuous force of northern bar- " barians; and by vigour of arms confounds the " politic ſchemes of her ſouthern neighbours. Di- " vine Providence appears to have placed the Ro- " mans

" mans in that happy ſituation, in order that they " might become maſters of the world."—Vegetius accounts for the different characters of men from the ſame principle. " Omnes nationes quæ vicinæ " ſunt ſoli, nimio calore ſiccatas, amplius quidem " ſapere, ſed minus habere ſanguinis dicunt: ac " propterea conſtantiam ac fiduciam cominus non " habere pugnandi, quia metuunt vulnera qui ſe " exiguum ſanguinem habere noverunt. Contra, " ſeptentrionales populi, remoti a ſolis ardoribus, " inconſultiores quidem, ſed tamen largo ſanguine " redundantes, ſunt ad bella promptiſſimi ° *."—— Servius, in his commentary on the Æneid of Virgil [p], ſays, " Afri verſipelles, Græci leves, Galli " pigrioris ingenii, quod natura climatum facit †." —Mallet, in the introduction to his hiſtory of Denmark, copying Vitruvius and Vegetius, ſtrains hard to derive ferocity and courage in the Scandinavians from the climate: " A great abundance of " blood, fibres ſtrong and rigid, vigour inexhauſt- " ible, formed the temperament of the Germans, " the Scandinavians, and of all other people who " live under the ſame climate. Robuſt by the cli-

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o Lib. 1. cap. 2. De re militari.

* " Nations near the ſun, being exſiccated by exceſſive heat, are " ſaid to have a greater acuteneſs of underſtanding, but leſs blood: " on which account, in fighting they are deficient in firmneſs and re- " ſolution; and dread the being wounded, as conſcious of their want " of blood. The northern people, on the contrary, removed from " the ardor of the ſun, are leſs remarkable for the powers of the " mind; but abounding in blood, they are prone to war."

p Lib. 6. ver. 724.

† " The Africans are ſubtle and full of ſtratagem, the Greeks are " fickle, the Gauls ſlow of parts, all which diverſities are occaſioned " by the climate."

" mate, and hardened with exerciſe, confidence in " bodily ſtrength formed their character. A man " who relies on his own force cannot bear reſtraint, " nor ſubmiſſion to the arbitrary will of another. " As he has no occaſion for artifice, he is altoge- " ther a ſtranger to fraud or diſſimulation. As he " is always ready to repel force by force, he is not " ſuſpicious nor diſtruſtful. His courage prompt " him to be faithful in friendſhip, generous, and " even magnanimous. He is averſe to occupations " that require more aſſiduity than action; becauſe " moderate exerciſe affords not to his blood and fi- " bres that degree of agitation which ſuits them. " Hence his diſguſt at arts and manufactures; and " as paſſion labours to juſtify itſelf, hence his opi- " nion, that war only and hunting are honourable " profeſſions." Before ſubſcribing to this doctrine, I wiſh to be ſatisfied of a few particulars. Is our author certain, that inhabitants of cold countries have the greateſt quantity of blood? And is he certain, that courage is in every man proportioned to the quantity of his blood *? Is he alſo certain, that

* At that rate, the loſs of an ounce of blood may turn the balance. Courage makes an eſſential ingredient in magnanimity and heroiſm: are ſuch elevated virtues corporeal merely? is the mind admitted for no ſhare? This indeed would be a mortifying circumſtance in the human race. But even ſuppoſing courage to be corporeal merely, it is however far from being proportioned to the quantity of blood: a greater quantity than can be circulated freely and eaſily by the force of the heart and arteries, becomes a diſeaſe, termed a plethora. Bodily courage is chiefly founded on the ſolids. When by the vigour and elaſticity of the heart and arteries a briſk circulation of blood is produced, a man is in good ſpirits, lively and bold; a greater quantity of blood, inſtead of raiſing courage to a higher pitch, never fails to produce ſluggiſhneſs, and depreſſion of mind.

ferocity

ferocity and love of war did univerſally obtain among the northern Europeans? Tacitus reports a very different character of the Chauci, who inhabited the north of Germany: "Tam immenſum "terrarum ſpatium non tenent tantum Chauci, ſed "et implent: populus inter Germanos nobiliſſi- "mus, quique magnitudinem ſuam malit juſtitia "tueri. Sine cupiditate, ſine impotentia, quieti, "ſecretique, nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus "aut latrociniis populantur. Idque præcipuum "virtutis ac virium argumentum eſt, quod ut ſu- "periores agunt, non per injurias aſſequuntur. "Prompta tamen omnibus arma, ac, ſi res poſcat, "exercitus *[q]." Again, with reſpect to the Arii, he bears witneſs, that beſide ferocity and ſtrength of body, they are full of fraud and artifice. Neither do the Laplanders nor Samoides correſpond to his deſcription, being remarkable for puſillanimity, though inhabitants of a bitter cold country †. Laſtly, a cold climate doth not always make the inhabitants averſe to occupations that require more aſ-

* "So immenſe an extent of country is not poſſeſſed only, but "filled by the Chauci; a race of people the nobleſt among the Ger- "mans, and who chuſe to maintain their grandeur by juſtice rather "than by violence. Confident of their ſtrength, without the thirſt "of increaſing their poſſeſſions, they live in quietneſs and ſecurity: "they kindle no wars; they are ſtrangers to plunder and to rapine; "and what is the chief evidence both of their power and of their vir- "tue; without oppreſſing any, they have attained a ſuperiority over "all. Yet when occaſion requires, they are prompt to take the "field; and their troops are ſpeedily raiſed."

q De moribus Germanorum, cap. 35.

† Scheffer, in his hiſtory of Lapland, differs widely from the authors mentioned; for he aſcribes the puſillanimity of the Laplanders to the coldneſs of their climate.

ſiduity than action: the people of Iceland formerly were much addicted to ſtudy and literature; and for many centuries were the chief hiſtorians of the north. They are to this day fond of cheſs, and ſpend much of their time in that amuſement: there is ſcarce a peaſant but who has a cheſs-board and men. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander report, that the peaſants of Iceland are addicted to hiſtory, not only of their own country, but of that of Europe.

The moſt formidable antagoniſt remains ſtill on hand, viz. Monteſquieu, who is a great champion for the climate; obſerving, that in hot climates people are timid like old men, and in cold climates bold like young men. This in effect is to maintain, that the torrid zone is an unfit habitation for men; that they degenerate in it, loſe their natural vigour, and even in youth become like old men. That juſtly celebrated author certainly intended not any imputation on Providence; and yet, doth it not look like an imputation, to maintain, that ſo large a portion of the globe is fit for beaſts only, not for men? He ought to have explained why a certain race of men may not be fitted for a hot climate, as others are for a temperate, or for a cold one. There does not appear any oppoſition between heat and courage, more than between cold and courage: on the contrary, courage ſeems more connected with heat than with cold. The fierceſt and boldeſt animals, a lion, for example, a tiger, a panther, thrive no where ſo much as in the hotteſt climates. The great condor of Peru in the torrid zone, is a bird not a little fierce and rapacious. A lion viſibly degenerates in a temperate climate. The lions of Mount Atlas, which is ſometimes crowned with

ſnow,

snow, have not the boldness nor the force, nor the ferocity of such as tread the burning lands of Zaara and Biledulgerid. Our author, it is true, endeavours to support his opinion by natural causes. These are ingenious and plausible; but unluckily they are contradicted by stubborn facts, which will appear upon a very slight survey of this globe. The Samoides and Laplanders are living instances of uncommon pusillanimity in the inhabitants of a cold climate; and instances, not few in number, have been mentioned of warlike people in a hot climate. To these I add the Hindows, whom our author will not admit to have any degree of courage; though he acknowledges, that, prompted by religion, the men voluntarily submit to dreadful tortures, and that even women are ambitious to burn themselves alive with their deceased husbands. In vain does he endeavour to account for such extraordinary exertions of fortitude, active as well as passive, by the force of imagination; as if imagination could operate more forcibly in a woman to burn herself alive, than on a man to meet his enemy in battle. The Malayans and Scandinavians live in very opposite climates, and yet are equally courageous. Providence has placed these nations each of them in its proper climate: cold would benumb a Malayan in Sweden, heat would enervate a Swede in Malacca; and both would be rendered cowards. I stop here; for to enter the lists against an antagonist of so great fame, gives me a feeling as if I were treading on forbidden ground.

The colour of the Negroes, as above observed, affords a strong presumption of their being a different race from the Whites; and I once thought, that

that the preſumption was ſupported by inferiority in their underſtanding. But it appears to me doubtful, upon ſecond thoughts, whether the inferiority of their underſtanding may not be occaſioned by their condition. A man never ripens in judgment nor in prudence, but by exerciſing theſe powers. At home the negroes have little occaſion to exerciſe either of them: they live upon fruits and roots, which grow without culture: they need little cloathing: and they erect houſes without trouble or art. Abroad, they are miſerable ſlaves, having no encouragement either to think or to act. Who can ſay how far they might improve in a ſtate of freedom, were they obliged, like Europeans, to procure bread with the ſweat of their brows? Some kingdoms in Negroland, particularly that of Whidah, have made great improvements in government, in police, and in manners. The negroes, particularly on the gold-coaſt, are naturally gay: they are induſtrious, apprehend readily what is ſaid to them, have a good judgment, are equitable in their dealings, and accommodate themſelves readily to the manners of ſtrangers.

I ſhall cloſe the ſurvey with ſome inſtances that ſeem to differ widely from the common nature of man. The Giagas, a fierce and wandering nation in the heart of Africa, are in effect land-pirates, at war with all the world. They indulge in polygamy; but bury all their children the moment of birth, and chuſe in their ſtead the moſt promiſing children taken in war. There is no principle among animals more prevalent than affection to their offſpring: ſuppoſing the Giagas to be born without hands or without feet, would they be more

diſtinguiſhable

diſtinguiſhable from the reſt of mankind *? The author of an account of Guiana, mentioning a deadly poiſon compoſed by the natives, ſays, "I "do not find that even in their wars they ever uſe "poiſoned arrows. And yet it may be wondered, "that a people living under no laws, actuated "with no religious principle, and unreſtrained by "the fear of preſent or future puniſhment, ſhould "not ſometimes employ that fatal poiſon for grati-"fying hatred, jealouſy, or revenge. But in a "ſtate of nature, though there are few reſtraints, "there are alſo fewer temptations to vice; and the "different tribes are doubtleſs ſenſible that poiſoned "arrows in war would, upon the whole, do more "miſchief than good." This writer it would ſeem has forgot, that proſpects of future good or evil never have influence upon ſavages. Is it his opinion, that fear of future miſchiefs to themſelves, would make the negroes of New Guinea abſtain from employing poiſoned arrows againſt their enemies? We have nothing but original diſpoſition to account for manners ſo ſingular in the ſavages of Guiana. The Japaneſe reſent injuries in a manner

* I have oftener than once doubted, whether the authors deſerve credit from whom this account is taken; and, after all, I do not preſs it upon my readers. There is only one conſideration that can bring it within the verge of probability, viz the little affection that male ſavages have for their new-born children, which appears from the ancient practice of expoſing them. The affection of the mother commences with the birth of the child; and had ſhe a vote, no infant would ever be deſtroyed. But as the affection of the father begins much later, the practice of deſtroying new-born infants may be thought not altogether incredible in a wandering nation who live by rapine, and who can provide themſelves with children more eaſily than by the tedious and precarious method of rearing them.

which

which has not a parallel in any other part of the world: it is indeed ſo ſingular as ſcarce to be conſiſtent with human nature. Others wreak their reſentment on the perſon who affronts them; but an inhabitant of Japan wreaks it on himſelf: he rips up his own belly. Kempfer reports the following inſtance. A gentleman coming down the great ſtair of the Emperor's palace, paſſed another going up, and their ſwords happened to claſh. The perſon deſcending took offence: the other excuſed himſelf, ſaying that it was accidental: adding, that ſwords only were concerned, and that his was as good as the other. I will ſhow you the difference, ſays the perſon who began the quarrel; he drew his ſword, and ripped up his own belly. The other, piqued at being thus prevented in revenge, haſtened up with a plate he had in his hand for the Emperor's table; and returning with equal ſpeed, he in like manner ripped up his belly in ſight of his antagoniſt, ſaying, "If I had not been ſerving my prince, you ſhould not have got the ſtart of me; but I ſhall die ſatisfied, having convinced you that my ſword is as good as yours." The ſame author gives an inſtance of uncommon ferocity in the Japaneſe, blended with manners highly poliſhed. In the midſt of a large company at dinner, a young woman, ſtraining to reach a plate, unwarily ſuffered wind to eſcape. Aſhamed and confounded, ſhe raiſed her breaſts to her mouth, tore them with her teeth, and expired on the ſpot. The Japaneſe are equally ſingular in ſome of their religious opinions. They never ſupplicate the gods in diſtreſs; holding, that as the gods enjoy uninterrupted bliſs, ſuch ſupplications would be offenſive

ſive to them. Their holidays accordingly are dedicated to feaſts, weddings, and all public and private rejoicings. It is delightful to the gods, ſay they, to ſee men happy. They are far from being ſingular in thinking that a benevolent deity is pleaſed to ſee men happy; but nothing can be more inconſiſtent with the common feelings of men, than to hold, that in diſtreſs it is wrong to ſupplicate the author of our nature for relief, and that he will be diſpleaſed with ſuch ſupplication. In deep affliction, there is certainly no balm equal to that of pouring out the heart to a benevolent deity, and expreſſing entire reſignation to his will.

In ſupport of the foregoing doctrine, many particulars ſtill more extraordinary might have been quoted from Greek and Roman writers: but truth has no occaſion for artifice; and I would not take advantage of celebrated names to vouch facts that appear incredible or uncertain. The Greeks and Romans made an illuſtrious figure in poetry, rhetoric, and all the fine arts; but they were little better than novices in natural hiſtory. More than half of the globe was to them what the Terra Auſtralis Incognita is to us; and imagination operates without control when it is not checked by knowledge: the ignorant at the ſame time are delighted with wonders; and the more wonderful a ſtory is, the more welcome it is made. This may ſerve as an apology for ancient writers, even when they relate and believe facts to us incredible. Men at that period were ignorant, in a great meaſure, of nature, and of the limits of her operations. One conceſſion will be made to me, that the writers mentioned who report things at ſecond hand, are

much more excuſable than the earlieſt of our modern travellers, who pretend to vouch endleſs wonders from their own knowledge. Natural hiſtory, that of man eſpecially, is of late years much ripened: no improbable tale is ſuffered to paſs without a ſtrict examination; and I have been careful to adopt no facts but what are vouched by late travellers and writers of credit. Were it true what Diodorus Siculus reports on the authority of Agatharchides of Cnidus, concerning the Ichthyophages on the eaſt coaſt of Africa, it would be a more pregnant proof of a diſtinct race of men than any I have diſcovered. They are deſcribed to be ſo ſtupid, that even when their wives and children are killed in their ſight, they ſtand inſenſible, and give no ſigns either of anger or of compaſſion. This I cannot believe upon ſo ſlight teſtimony; and the Greeks and Romans were at that time extremely credulous, being leſs acquainted with neighbouring nations, than we are with the Antipodes. The Balearic iſlands, Majorca, Minorca, Yvica, are at no great diſtance from Sicily; and yet Diodorus the Sicilian reports of the inhabitants, that at the ſolemnization of marriage all the male friends, and even the houſehold ſervants, lay with the bride before the bridegroom was admitted. Credat Judeus appella. It would not be much more difficult to make me believe what is ſaid by Pliny of the Blemmyans, that they had no head, and that the mouth and eyes were in the breaſt; or of the Arimaſpi, who had but one eye, placed in the middle of the forehead; or of the Aſtomi, who having no mouth, could neither eat nor drink, but lived upon ſmelling; or of a thouſand other abſurdities which

Pliny

Pliny relates, with a grave face, in the 6th book of his natural hiſtory, cap. 30. and in the 7th book, cap. 2.

Thus upon an extenſive ſurvey of the inhabited parts of our globe, many nations are found differing ſo widely from each other, not only in complexion, in features, in ſhape, and in other external circumſtances, but in temper and diſpoſition, particularly in two capital articles, courage and the treatment of ſtrangers, that even the certainty of there being different races could not make one expect more ſtriking differences. Doth M. Buffon think it ſufficient, barely to ſay, that ſuch differences may poſſibly be the effect of climate, or of other accidental cauſes? The preſumption is, that the differences ſubſiſting at preſent have always ſubſiſted; which ought to be held as true, till poſitive evidence be brought to the contrary: inſtead of which we are put off with bare ſuppoſitions and poſſibilities.

But not to reſt entirely upon preſumptive evidence, to me it appears clear from the very frame of the human body, that there muſt be different races of men fitted for different climates. Few animals are more affected than men generally are, not only with change of ſeaſons in the ſame climate, but with change of weather in the ſame ſeaſon. Can ſuch a being be fitted for all climates equally? Impoſſible. A man muſt at leaſt be hardened by nature againſt the ſlighter changes of ſeaſons or weather: he ought to be altogether inſenſible of ſuch changes. Yet from Sir John Pringle's obſervations on the diſeaſes of the army, to go no further, it appears, that even military men, who ought

of all to be the hardieſt, are greatly affected by them. Horſes and horned cattle ſleep on the bare ground, wet or dry, without harm; and yet are not made for every climate: can a man be made for every climate, who is ſo much more delicate, that he cannot ſleep on wet ground without hazard of ſome mortal diſeaſe?

But the argument I chiefly rely on is, That were all men of one ſpecies, there never could have exiſted, without a miracle, different kinds, ſuch as exiſt at preſent. Giving allowance for every ſuppoſeable variation of climate, or of other natural cauſes, what can follow, as obſerved about the dog-kind, but endleſs varieties among individuals, as among tulips in a garden, ſo as that no individual ſhall reſemble another. Inſtead of which we find men of different kinds, the individuals of each kind remarkably uniform, and differing not leſs remarkably from the individuals of every other kind. Uniformity and permanency are the offspring of deſign, never of chance.

There is another argument that appears alſo to have weight: Horſes with reſpect to ſize, ſhape, and ſpirit, differ widely in different climates. But let a male and a female, of whatever climate, be carried into a country where horſes are in perfection, their progeny will improve gradually, and will acquire in time the perfection of their kind. Is not this a proof, that all horſes are of one kind? If ſo, men are not all of one kind; for if a White mix with a Black in whatever climate, or a Hottentot with a Samoide, the reſult will not be either an improvement of the kind, or the contrary; but a mongrel breed differing from both parents. It is

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thus aſcertained beyond any rational doubt, that there are different races or kinds of men, and that theſe races or kinds are naturally fitted for different climates: whence we have reaſon to conclude, that originally each kind was placed in its proper climate, whatever change may have happened in later times by war or commerce.

There is a remarkable fact that confirms the foregoing conjectures. As far back as hiſtory goes, or tradition kept alive by hiſtory, the earth was inhabited by ſavages divided into many ſmall tribes, each tribe having a language peculiar to itſelf. Is it not natural to ſuppoſe, that theſe original tribes were different races of men, placed in proper climates, and left to form their own language?

Upon ſumming up the whole particulars mentioned above, would one heſitate a moment to adopt the following opinion, were there no counter-balancing evidence, viz. "That God created many "pairs of the human race, differing from each o-"ther both externally and internally; that he fitted "theſe pairs for different climates, and placed each "pair in its proper climate; that the peculiarities "of the original pairs were preſerved entire in their "deſcendents; who, having no aſſiſtance but their "natural talents, were left to gather knowledge "from experience, and in particular were left (each "tribe to form a language for itſelf; that ſigns "were ſufficient for the original pairs, without any "language but what nature ſuggeſts; and that a "language was formed gradually, as a tribe increaſ-"ed in numbers, and in different occupations, to "make ſpeech neceſſary?" But this opinion, however plauſible, we are not permitted to adopt; being

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ing taught a different leſſon by revelation, viz. That God created but a ſingle pair of the human ſpecies. Though we cannot doubt of the authority of Moſes, yet his account of the creation of man is not a little puzzling, as it ſeems to contradict every one of the facts mentioned above. According to that account, different races of men were not formed, nor were men formed originally for different climates. All men muſt have ſpoken the ſame language, viz. that of our firſt parents. And what of all ſeems the moſt contradictory to that account, is the ſavage ſtate: Adam, as Moſes informs us, was endued by his Maker with an eminent degree of knowledge; and he certainly was an excellent preceptor to his children and their progeny, among whom he lived many generations. Whence then the degeneracy of all men unto the ſavage ſtate? To account for that diſmal cataſtrophe, mankind muſt have ſuffered ſome terrible convulſion.

That terrible convulſion is revealed to us in the hiſtory of the tower of Babel, contained in the 11th chapter of Geneſis, which is, "That for ma-"ny centuries after the deluge, the whole earth "was of one language, and of one ſpeech; that "they united to build a city on a plain in the land "of Shinar, with a tower whoſe top might reach "unto heaven; that the Lord beholding the people "to be one, and to have all one language, and "that nothing would be reſtrained from them "which they imagined to do, confounded their "language, that they might not underſtand one "another; and ſcattered them abroad upon the "face of all the earth." Here light breaks forth in the midſt of darkneſs. By confounding the language

language of men, and ſcattering them abroad upon the face of all the earth, they were rendered ſavages. And to harden them for their new habitations, it was neceſſary that they ſhould be divided into different kinds, fitted for different climates. Without an immediate change of conſtitution, the builders of Babel could not poſſibly have ſubſiſted in the burning region of Guinea, nor in the frozen region of Lapland; houſes not being prepared, nor any other convenience to protect them againſt a deſtructive climate. Againſt this hiſtory it has indeed been urged, "that the circumſtances mentioned evince it to be purely an allegory; that men never were ſo frantic as to think of building a tower whoſe top might reach to heaven; and that it is groſsly abſurd, taking the matter literally, that the Almighty was afraid of men, and reduced to the neceſſity of ſaving himſelf by a miracle." But that this is a real hiſtory, muſt neceſſarily be admitted, as the confuſion of Babel is the only known fact that can reconcile ſacred and profane hiſtory.

And this leads us to conſider the diverſity of languages *. If the common language of men had not

* As the ſocial ſtate is eſſential to man, and ſpeech to the ſocial ſtate, the wiſdom of Providence in fitting men for acquiring that neceſſary art, deſerves more attention than is commonly beſtowed on it. The Orang Outang has the external organs of ſpeech in perfection; and many are puzzled to account why it never ſpeaks. But the external organs of ſpeech make but a ſmall part of the neceſſary apparatus. The faculty of imitating ſound is an eſſential part; and wonderful would that faculty appear, were it not rendered familiar by practice: a child of two or three years, is able, by nature alone, without the leaſt inſtruction, to adapt its organs of ſpeech to every articulate

not been confounded upon their attempting the tower of Babel, I affirm, that there never could have been but one language. Antiquaries conſtantly ſuppoſe a migrating ſpirit in the original inhabitants of this earth; not only without evidence, but contrary to all probability. Men never deſert their connections nor their country without neceſſity: fear of enemies and of wild beaſts, as well as the attraction of ſociety, are more than ſufficient to reſtrain them from wandering; not to mention that ſavages are peculiarly fond of their natal ſoil *.

The

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articulate ſound; and a child of four or five years can pitch its windpipe ſo as to emit a ſound of any elevation, which enables it with an ear to imitate the ſongs it hears. But above all the other parts, ſenſe and underſtanding are eſſential to ſpeech. A parrot can pronounce articulate ſounds, and it has frequently an inclination to ſpeak; but, for want of underſtanding, none of the kind can form a ſingle ſentence. Has an Orang Outang underſtanding to form a mental propoſition? has he a faculty to expreſs that propoſition in ſounds? and ſuppoſing him able to expreſs what he ſees and hears, what would he make of the connective and disjunctive particles?

* With reſpect to the ſuppoſed migrating ſpirit, even Bochart muſt yield to Kempfer in boldneſs of conjecture. After proving, from difference of language, and from other circumſtances, that Japan was not peopled by the Chineſe, Kempfer without the leaſt heſitation ſettles a colony there of thoſe who attempted the tower of Babel. Nay, he traces moſt minutely their road to Japan; and concludes, that they muſt have travelled with great expedition, becauſe their language has no tincture of any other. He did not think it neceſſary to explain, what temptation they had to wander ſo far from home; nor why they ſettled in an iſland, not preferable either in ſoil or climate to many countries they muſt have traverſed.

An ingenious French writer obſerves, that plauſible reaſons would lead one to conjecture, that men were more early poliſhed in iſlands than in continents; as people, crowded together, ſoon find the neceſſity of laws to reſtrain them from miſchief. And yet, ſays he, the manners of iſlanders and their laws are commonly the lateſt formed. A very ſimple reflection would have unfolded the myſtery. Many centuries did men exiſt without thinking of navigation. That

art

The firſt migrations were probably occaſioned by factions and civil wars; the next by commerce. Greece affords inſtances of the former, Phœnicia of the latter. Unleſs upon ſuch occaſions, members of a family or of a tribe will never retire farther from their fellows than is neceſſary for food; and by retiring gradually, they loſe neither their connections nor their manners, far leſs their language, which is in conſtant exerciſe. As far back as hiſtory carries us, tribes without number are diſcovered, each having a language peculiar to itſelf. Strabo[r] reports, that the Albanians were divided into ſeveral tribes, differing in external appearance and in language. Cæſar found in Gaul ſeveral ſuch tribes; and Tacitus records the names of many tribes in Germany. There are a multitude of American tribes that to this day continue diſtinct from each other, and have each a different language. The mother-tongues at preſent, though numerous, bear no proportion to what formerly exiſted. We find original tribes gradually enlarging; by conqueſt frequently, and more frequently by the union of weak tribes for mutual defence. Such events promote one language inſtead of many. The Celtic tongue, once extenſive, is at preſent confined to the highlands of Scotland, to Wales, to Britany, and to part of Ireland. In a few centuries, it will ſhare the fate of many other original tongues: it will be totally forgotten.



art was not invented till men, ſtraitened in their quarters upon the continent, thought of occupying adjacent iſlands.

r Book 2.

If men had not been ſcattered every where upon the confuſion of Babel, another particular muſt have occurred, differing not leſs from what has really happened than that now mentioned. As paradiſe is conjectured to have been ſituated in the heart of Aſia, the ſurrounding regions, for the reaſon above given, muſt have been firſt peopled; and the civilization and improvements of the mother country were undoubtedly carried along to every new ſettlement. In particular, the colonies planted in America, the South-ſea iſlands, and the Terra Auſtralis incognita, muſt have been highly poliſhed; becauſe, being at the greateſt diſtance, they probably were the lateſt. And yet theſe and other remote people, the Mexicans and Peruvians excepted, remain to this day in the original ſavage ſtate of hunting and fiſhing.

Thus, had not men wildly attempted to build a tower whoſe top might reach to heaven, all men would not only have ſpoken the ſame language, but would have made the ſame progreſs toward maturity of knowledge and civilization. That deplorable event reverſed all nature: by ſcattering men over the face of all the earth, it deprived them of ſociety, and rendered them ſavages. From that ſtate of degeneracy, they have been emerging gradually. Some nations, ſtimulated by their own nature, or by their climate, have made a rapid progreſs; ſome have proceeded more ſlowly; and ſome continue ſavages. To trace out that progreſs toward maturity in different nations, is the ſubject of the preſent undertaking.

SKETCH

## SKETCH II.

### Men with reſpect to FOOD and POPULATION.

e climates, the original food of men
that grow without culture, and the
animals. As ſuch animals become
en hunted, there is a contrivance of
s ſimple than effectual, which en-
ear with chearfulneſs the fatigues of
he uncertainty of capture; and that
for hunting. Hunger alone is not
ges, who act by ſenſe not by fore-
ot when the ſtomach is full; and it
late when the ſtomach is empty, to
-party. As this appetite belongs to
ho depends on hunting for procur-
one inſtance, among many, of pro-
m, in adapting the internal conſti-
to his external circumſtances. The
unting, though among us little ne-
d, is, to this day, viſible in our
gh and low, rich and poor. Natu-
s may be rendered faint or obſcure,
otally eradicated.
, that fiſh was not early the food of
s not our element; and ſavages pro-
attempt to draw any food from the
ers, till land-animals turned ſcarce.
Sympoſiacs obſerves, that the Syri-
of old abſtained from fiſh. Mene-

laus [a] complains, that his companions had been reduced by hunger to that food; and though the Grecian camp, at the ſiege of Troy, was on the ſea-ſhore, there is not in Homer a ſingle hint of their feeding on fiſh. We learn from Dion Caſſius, that the Caledonians did not eat fiſh, though they had them in plenty; which is confirmed by Adamannus, a Scotch hiſtorian, in his life of St. Columba. The ancient Caledonians depended almoſt entirely on deer for food, becauſe in a cold country the fruits that grow ſpontaneouſly afford very little nouriſhment; and domeſtic animals, which at preſent ſo much abound, were not early known in the north of Britain.

Antiquaries talk of acorns, nuts, and other ſhell-fruits, as the only vegetable food that men had originally; overlooking wheat, rice, barley, &c. which muſt, from the creation, have grown ſpontaneouſly: for ſurely, when agriculture firſt commenced, ſeeds of theſe plants were not procured by a miracle *. The Laplanders, poſſeſſing a coun-

[a] Book 4 of the Odyſſey.

* Writers upon natural hiſtory have been ſolicitous to diſcover the original climate of theſe plants; but without much ſucceſs. The original climate of plants left to nature, cannot be a ſecret: but in countries well peopled, the plants mentioned are not left to nature; the ſeeds are carefully gathered, and ſtored up for food. As this practice could not fail to make theſe ſeeds ſcarce, agriculture was early thought of, which, by introducing plants into new ſoils and new climates, has rendered the original climate obſcure. If we can trace that climate, it muſt be regions deſtitute of inhabitants, or but thinly peopled. The Sioux, a very ſmall tribe in North-America, poſſeſs a vaſt country, where oats grow ſpontaneouſly in meadows and on the ſides of rivers, which make part of their food, without neceſſity of agriculture. While the French poſſeſſed Port Dauphin in the iſland of Madagaſcar,

a country where corn will not grow, make bread of the inner bark of trees; and Linneus reports, that ſwine there fatten on that food, as well as in Sweden upon corn.

Plenty of food procured by hunting and fiſhing, promotes population: but as conſumption of food increaſes with population, wild animals, ſorely perſecuted, become not only more rare but more ſhy. Men, thus pinched for food, are excited to try other means for ſupplying their wants. A fawn, a kid, or a lamb, taken alive, and tamed for amuſement, ſuggeſted probably flocks and herds, and introduced the ſhepherd-ſtate. Changes are not perfected but by ſlow degrees: hunting and fiſhing continue for a long time favourite occupations; and the few animals that are domeſticated, ſerve as a common ſtock to be diſtributed among individuals, according to their wants. But as the idle and indolent, though the leaſt deſerving, are thus the greateſt conſumers of the common ſtock, an improvement was ſuggeſted, that every family ſhould rear a ſtock for themſelves. Men by that politic regulation being taught to rely on their own induſtry, diſplayed the hoarding-principle, which multiplied flocks and herds exceedingly. And

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Madagaſcar, they raiſed excellent wheat. That ſtation was deſerted many years ago; and to this day grows naturally among the graſs in great vigour. In the country about Mount Tabor in Paleſtine, barley and oats grow ſpontaneouſly. In the kingdom of Siam, there are many ſpots where rice grows ſpontaneouſly, year after year, without any culture. Diodorus Siculus is our authority for ſaying, that in the territory of Leontinum, and in other parts of Sicily, wheat grew wild without any culture. And it does ſo to this day about Mount Etna.

And thus the ſhepherd-ſtate was perfected, plenty of food being ſupplied at home, without ranging the woods or the waters. Hunting and fiſhing being no longer neceſſary for food, became an amuſement merely, and a gratification of the original appetite for hunting.

The finger of God may be clearly traced in the proviſion made of animal food for man. Gramenivorous animals, perhaps all, make palatable and wholeſome food. I except not the horſe: ſome nations feed on it; others do not, becauſe it is more profitable by its labour. Carnivorous animals, generally ſpeaking, make not wholeſome food nor palatable. The firſt-mentioned animals are gentle, and eaſily domeſticated: the latter are fierce, not eaſily tamed, and uncertain in temper when tamed. Graſs grows every where in temperate regions; and men beſide can multiply animal food without end, by training domeſtic animals to live on turnip, carrot, potatoe, and other roots, &c. Herodotus adds the following admirable reflection: "We may rationally conjecture, that Divine Pro-"vidence has rendered extremely prolific ſuch crea-"tures as are naturally fearful, and ſerve for food: "leſt they ſhould be deſtroyed by conſtant con-"ſumption: whereas the rapacious and cruel are "almoſt barren. The hare, which is the prey of "beaſts, birds, and men, is a great breeder: a li-"oneſs, on the contrary, the ſtrongeſt and fierceſt "of beaſts, brings forth but once."

The ſhepherd-ſtate is friendly to population. Men by plenty of food multiply apace; and in proceſs of time neighbouring tribes, ſtraitened in their paſture, go to war for extenſion of territory,

or

or migrate to grounds not yet occupied. Neceſſity, the mother of invention, ſuggeſted agriculture. When corn growing ſpontaneouſly was rendered ſcarce by conſumption, it was an obvious thought to propagate it by art: nature was the guide, which carries on its work of propagation with ſeeds, that drop from plants in their maturity, and ſpring up new plants. As the land was poſſeſſed in common, the ſeed of courſe was ſown in common, and ſtored in a common repoſitory to be parcelled out among individuals in want, as the common ſtock of animals had been formerly. We have for our authority Diodorus Siculus, that the Celtiberians divided their land annually among individuals, to be laboured for the uſe of the public, and that the product was ſtored up, and diſtributed from time to time among the neceſſitous. A laſting diviſion of the land among the members of the ſtate, ſecuring to each man the product of his own ſkill and labour, was a great ſpur to induſtry, and multiplied food exceedingly. Population made a rapid progreſs, and government became an art: for agriculture and commerce cannot flouriſh without ſalutary laws.

Natural fruits ripen to greater perfection in a temperate than in a cold climate, and cultivation is more eaſy; which circumſtances make it highly probable, that agriculture became firſt an art in temperate climes. The culture of corn was ſo early known in Greece, as to make a branch of its fabulous hiſtory: in Egypt it muſt have been coeval with the inhabitants; for while the Nile overflows, they cannot ſubſiſt without corn [b]. Nor without corn

[b] Hiſtorical Law-tracts, tract. 1.

corn could the ancient monarchies of Aſſyria and Babylon have been ſo populous and powerful as they are ſaid to have been. In the northern parts of Europe, wheat, barley, peaſe, and perhaps oats, are foreign plants: as the climate is not friendly to corn, agriculture muſt have crept northward by ſlow degrees; and even at preſent, it requires no ſmall portion both of ſkill and induſtry to bring corn to maturity in ſuch a climate. Hence it may be inferred with certainty, that the ſhepherd-ſtate continued longer in northern climates than in thoſe nearer the ſun. Cold countries however are friendly to population; and the northern people, multiplying beyond the food that can be ſupplied by flocks and herds, were compelled to throw off many ſwarms in ſearch of new habitations. Their frequent migrations were for many years a dreadful ſcourge to neighbouring kingdoms. People, amazed at the multitude of the invaders, judged, that the countries from whence they iſſued muſt have been exceedingly populous; and hence the North was termed officina gentium; but ſcarcity of food in the ſhepherd-ſtate was the true cauſe. The north of Europe, in all probability, is as well peopled at preſent as ever it was, though its migrations have ceaſed, corn and commerce having put an end to that peſtilence *. Denmark at preſent

* Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus. Monteſquieu accounts as follows for the great ſwarms of Barbarians that overwhelmed the Roman empire. "Ces eſſaims de Barbares qui ſortirent autrefois du "nord, ne paroiſſent plus aujourd'hui. Les violences des Romains "avoient fait retirer les peuple du midi au nord: tandis que la force "qui

ſent feeds 2,000,000 of inhabitants, Sweden, according to a liſt made up, anno 1760, 2,383,113; and theſe countries muſt be much more populous than of old, when over-run with immenſe woods, and agriculture utterly unknown. Had the Danes and Norwegians been acquainted with agriculture in the ninth and tenth centuries, when they poured out multitudes upon their neighbours, they would not have ventured their lives in frail veſſels upon a tempeſtuous ocean, in order to diſtreſs nations who were not their enemies. But hunger is a cogent motive; and hunger gave to theſe pirates ſuperiority in arms above every nation that enjoyed plenty at home. Luckily ſuch depredations muſt have intervals; for as they neceſſarily occaſion great havock even among the victors, the remainder finding ſufficiency of food at home, reſt there till an increaſing population force them again to action *. Agriculture, which fixes people to a ſpot, is an invincible obſtacle to migration; and happy it is for Europe, that agriculture, now univerſally diffuſed, has put an end for ever to ſuch migra-

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" qui les contenoit ſubſiſta, ils y reſterent: quand elle fut affoiblie, " ils ſe repandirent de toutes parts." Grandeur des Romains, c. 16. —[In Engliſh thus: " The ſwarms of Barbarians who poured for- " merly from the north, appear no more. The violence of the Ro- " man arms had driven thoſe nations from the ſouth towards the " north: there they remained during the ſubſiſtence of that force " which retained them; but that being once weakened, they ſpread " abroad to every quarter."]—It has quite eſcaped him, that men cannot, like water, be dammed up without being fed.

* Joannes Magnus, in the 8th book of his hiſtory of the Goths, mentions, that a third part of the Swedes, being compelled by famine to leave their native country, founded the kingdom of the Longobards in Italy.

tions: the northern people find occupation and ſuſtenance at home, without infeſting others. Agriculture is a great bleſſing: it not only affords us food in plenty, but ſecures the fruits of our induſtry from hungry and rapacious invaders *.

That the progreſs above traced muſt have proceeded from ſome vigorous impulſe will be admitted, conſidering the prevailing influence of cuſtom: once hunters, men will always be hunters, till they be forced out of that ſtate by ſome overpowering cauſe. Hunger, the cauſe here aſſigned, is of all the moſt overpowering; and the ſame cauſe, overcoming indolence and idleneſs, has introduced manufactures, commerce, and variety of arts †.

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* Mahomet Bey, King of Tunis, was dethroned by his ſubjects; but having the reputation of the philoſopher's ſtone, he was reſtored by the Dey of Algiers, upon promiſing to communicate the ſecret to him. Mahomet ſent a plough with great pomp and ceremony, intimating, that agriculture is the ſtrength of a kingdom, and that the philoſopher's ſtone is a good crop, which may be eaſily converted into gold.

† In diſcourſing of America, "Is it not ſingular," ſays he, "that the world compoſed almoſt wholly of ſavages, there never "have been any ſociety or commerce between them and the "animals about them? There was not a domeſtic animal in America "when diſcovered by Columbus, except among the poliſhed people "of Mexico and Peru. Is not this a proof, that man, in his ſavage "ſtate, is but a ſort of brute animal, having no faculties but to pro-"vide for his ſubſiſtence, by attacking the weak, and avoiding the "ſtrong; and having no idea of his ſuperiority over other animals, "which he never once thinks of bringing under ſubjection? This is "the more ſurpriſing, as moſt of the American animals are by nature "docile and timid." Our author, without being ſenſible of it, lays a foundation for a ſatisfactory anſwer to theſe queſtions, by what he adds, viz. That in the whole compaſs of America, when diſcovered by the Spaniards, there were not half the number of people that are in Europe; and that ſuch ſcarcity of men favoured greatly the propagation

The progreſs here delineated has, in all temperate climates of the old world, been preciſely uniform; but it has been different in the extremes of cold and hot climates. In very cold regions, which produce little vegetable food for man, the hunter-ſtate was originally eſſential. In temperate regions, as obſerved above, men ſubſiſted partly on vegetable food, which is more and more plentiful in proportion to the heat of the climate. In the torrid zone, natural fruits are produced in ſuch plenty and perfection, as to be more than ſufficient for a moderate population: and in caſe of extraordinary population, the tranſition to huſbandry is eaſy. There are found accordingly in every populous country of the torrid zone, crops of rice, maize, roots, and other vegetable food, raiſed by the hand of man. As hunting becomes thus leſs and leſs neceſſary in the progreſs from cold to hot countries, the appetite for hunting keeps pace with that progreſs; it is vigorous in very cold countries, where men depend on hunting for food; it is leſs vigorous in temperate countries, where they are partly fed with natural fruits; and there is ſcarce any vestige of it in hot countries, where vegetables are the food of men, and where meat is an article of luxury. The original occupation of ſavages, both in cold and temperate climates, is hunting, altogether eſſential in the former, as the only means of procuring food. The next ſtep of the progreſs in both,

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pagation of wild animals, which had few enemies and much food. Was it not obvious to conclude from theſe premiſes, that while men, who by nature are fond of hunting, have game in plenty, they never think of turning ſhepherds?

is the occupation of a ſhepherd; and there the progreſs ſtops ſhort in very cold regions, unfit for corn. Lapland in particular produces no vegetable but moſs, which is the food of no animal but of the rain-deer. This circumſtance ſolely is what renders Lapland habitable by men. Without rain-deer, the ſea-coaſts within the reach of fiſh would admit ſome inhabitants; but the inland parts would be a deſert. As the ſwiftneſs of that animal makes it not an eaſy prey, the taming it for food muſt have been early attempted; and its natural docility made the attempt ſucceed. It yields to no other animal in uſefulneſs: it is equal to a horſe for draught: its fleſh is excellent food; and the female gives milk more nouriſhing than that of a cow: its fur is fine; and the leather made of its ſkin, is both ſoft and durable. In Tartary, though a great part of it lies in a temperate zone, there is little corn. As far back as tradition reaches, the Tartars have had flocks and herds; and yet, in a great meaſure, they not only continue hunters, but keep in the ferocity of that ſtate: they are not fond of being ſhepherds, and have not any knowledge of huſbandry. This in appearance is ſingular; but nothing happens without a cauſe. Tartary is one continued mountain from weſt to eaſt, riſing high above the countries to the ſouth; and declining gradually to the northern ocean, without a ſingle hill to intercept the bitter blaſts of the north. A few ſpots excepted, a tree above the ſize of a ſhrub cannot live in it *. In Europe, the mountains of

* May not a ſimilar ſituation in ſome parts of North America, be partly the occaſion of the cold that is felt there, beyond what Europe feels in the ſame latitude?

Norway

Norway and Lapland are a comfortable ſcreen againſt the north wind: whence it is, that the ground about Stockholm [c] produces both trees and corn; and even about Abo [d] the climate is tolerable. Great Tartary abounds with paſture; but extreme cold renders it very little capable of corn. Through all Chineſe Tartary, even as low as the 43d degree of latitude, the froſt continues ſeven or eight months every year; and that country, though in the latitude of France, is as cold as Iceland; the cauſes of which are its nitrous ſoil, and its height without any ſhelter from the weſt wind, that has paſſed through an immenſe continent extremely cold. A certain place near the ſource of the river Kavamhuran, and within 80 leagues of the great wall, was found by Father Verbeiſt to be 3000 geometrical paces above the level of the ſea. Thus the Tartars, like the Laplanders, are chained to the ſhepherd-ſtate, and can never advance to be huſband-men. If population among them ever be ſo great as to require more food than the ſhepherd-ſtate can ſupply, migration will be their only reſource.

In every ſtep of the progreſs, the torrid zone differs. We have no evidence that either the hunter or ſhepherd ſtate were ever known there: the inhabitants at preſent ſubſiſt upon vegetable food; and probably did ſo from the beginning. In Manila, one of the Philippine iſlands, the trees bud, bloſſom, and bear fruit, all the year round. The natives, driven from the ſea-coaſt to the inland

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[c] Latitude 59.
[d] Latitude 61.

parts,

parts, have no particular place of abode, but live under the ſhelter of trees, which afford them food as well as habitation; and when the fruit is conſumed in one ſpot, they remove to another. The orange, lemon, and other European trees, bear fruit twice a-year: a ſprig planted bears fruit within the year. And this picture of Manila anſwers to numberleſs places in the torrid zone. The Marian or Ladrone iſlands are extremely populous; and yet the inhabitants live entirely on fiſh, fruits, and roots. The inhabitants of the new Philippine iſlands live on cocoa-nuts, ſalads, roots, and fiſh. The inland negroes make but one meal a-day, which is in the evening. Their diet is plain, conſiſting moſtly of rice, fruits, and roots. The iſland of Otaheite is healthy, the people tall and well made; and by temperance, vegetables and fiſh being their chief nouriſhment, they live to a good old age, with ſcarce any ailment. There is no ſuch thing known among them as rotten teeth: the very ſmell of wine or ſpirits is diſagreeable; and they never deal in tobacco nor ſpiceries. In many places Indian corn is the chief nouriſhment, which every man plants for himſelf. The inhabitants of Biledulgerid and the deſert of Zaara have but two meals a-day, one in the morning, and one in the evening. Being temperate, and ſtrangers to the diſeaſes of luxury and idleneſs, they generally live to a great age. Sixty with them is the prime of life, as thirty is in Europe. An inhabitant of Madagaſcar will travel two or three days without any food but a ſugar cane. There is indeed little appetite for animal food in hot climates; though beef and fowl have in ſmall quantities been introduced

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to the tables of the great, as articles of luxury. In America are obſervable ſome variations from the progreſs; but theſe are reſerved for a ſeparate ſketch [c].

With reſpect to population in particular, that plenty of food is its chief cauſe, may be illuſtrated by the following calculation. The ſouthern provinces of China produce two crops of rice in a year, ſometimes three; and an acre well cultivated gives food to ten mouths. The peaſants go almoſt naked; and the better ſort wear but a ſingle garment made of cotton, of which as much is produced upon an acre as may clothe four or five hundred perſons. Hence the extreme populouſneſs of China and other rice countries. The Caſſave root, which ſerves the Americans for bread, is produced in ſuch plenty, that an acre of it will feed more perſons than ſix acres of wheat. It is not then for want of food that America is ill peopled. That Negroland is well peopled is paſt doubt, conſidering the great annual draughts from that country to America, without any apparent diminution of numbers. Inſtances are not extremely rare of 200 children born to one man by his different wives. Food muſt be extremely plentiful to enable a man to maintain ſo many children. It would require extraordinary ſkill and labour to make Europe ſo populous: an acre and an half of wheat is barely ſufficient to maintain a ſingle family of peaſants; and their cloathing requires many more acres. A country of ſavages, who live chiefly by hunting, muſt be very

[c] Book 2. ſketch 12.

thin

thin of inhabitants; as 10,000 or double that number of acres are no more than ſufficient for maintaining a ſingle family. If the multiplication of animals depended chiefly on fecundity, wolves would be more numerous than ſheep: a great proportion of the latter are deprived of the procreating power, and many more of them are killed than of the former: yet we ſee every where large flocks of ſheep, ſeldom a wolf; for what reaſon, other than that the former have plenty of food, the latter very little? A wolf reſembles a ſavage who lives by hunting, and conſumes the game of five or ſix hundred acres.

Waving the queſtion, Whether the human race be the offſpring of one pair, or of many, it appears the intention of Providence, that the earth ſhould be peopled, and population be kept up by the ordinary means of procreation. By theſe means a tribe [illegible] becomes too populous for the primitive ſtate of hunting and fiſhing: it may even become too populous for the ſhepherd-ſtate; but probably a nation can ſcarce be too populous for huſbandry. In the two former ſtates, food muſt decreaſe in quantity as conſumers increaſe in number; but agriculture has the ſignal property of producing, by induſtry, food in proportion to the number of conſumers. In fact, the greateſt quantities of corn and of cattle are commonly produced in the moſt populous diſtricts, where each family has its proportion of land. An ancient Roman, ſober and induſtrious, made a ſhift to maintain his family on the product of a few acres *. The

* Scotland muſt have been very ill peopled in the days of its fifth James, when at one hunting in the high country of Roxburghſhire, that

The bounty given in Britain for exporting corn is friendly to population in two reſpects; firſt, becauſe huſbandry requires many hands; and, next, becauſe the bounty lowers the price of corn at home. To give a bounty for exporting cattle would obſtruct population; becauſe paſture requires few hands, and exportation would raiſe the price of cattle at home. From the ſingle port of Cork, an. 1735, were exported 107,161 barrels of beef, 7379 barrels of pork, 13,401 caſks of butter, and 85,727 firkins of the ſame commodity. Thus a large portion of Ireland is ſet apart for feeding other nations. What addition of ſtrength would it not be to Britain, if that large quantity of food were conſumed at home by uſeful manufacturers!

Lapland is but thinly inhabited even for the ſhepherd-ſtate, the country being capable of maintaining a greater number of rain-deer, and conſequently a greater number of the human ſpecies than are found in it. At the ſame time, the Laplanders are well acquainted with private property: every family has tame rain-deer of their own, to the extent ſometimes of four or five hundred. They indeed ſeem to have more rain-deer than there is a demand for. Why then is Lapland ſo thinly peopled? Either it muſt have been but lately planted, or the inhabitants are not prolific. I incline to the latter, upon the authority of Scheffer. Tartary is alſo but thinly peopled; and as I find not that the Tartars are leſs prolific than their neighbours, it is

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that Prince killed three hundred and ſixty red-deer; and in Athol, at another time, ſix hundred, beſides roes, wolves, foxes, and wild cats.

probable that Tartary, being the moſt barren country in Aſia, has not been early planted. At the ſame time population has been much retarded by the reſtleſs and roaming ſpirit of that people: it is true, they have been forced into the ſhepherd-ſtate by want of food; but ſo averſe are they to the ſedentary life of a ſhepherd, that they truſt their cattle to ſlaves, and perſevere in their favourite occupation of hunting. This diſpoſition has been a dreadful peſt to the human ſpecies, the Tartars having made more extenſive conqueſts, and deſtroyed more men, than any other nation known in hiſtory: more cruel than tigers, they ſeemed to have no delight but in blood and maſſacre, without any regard either to ſex or age *. Luckily for the human ſpecies, rich ſpoils dazzled their eyes, and rouſed an appetite for wealth. Avarice is ſometimes productive of good: it moved theſe monſters to ſell the conquered people for ſlaves, which preſerved the lives of millions. Conqueſts, however ſucceſsful, cannot go on for ever; they are not accompliſhed without great loſs of men; and the conqueſts of the Tartars depopulated their country.

But as ſome centuries have elapſed without any conſiderable eruption of that fiery people, their numbers muſt at preſent be conſiderable by the ordinary progreſs of population. Have we not reaſon to dread new eruptions, like what formerly happened? Our foreknowledge of future events

* When the Tartars under Genhizkan conquered China, it was ſeriouſly deliberated, whether they ſhould not kill all the inhabitants, and convert that vaſt country into paſture-fields for their cattle.

extends

extends not far; but ſo far as it extends, we have nothing to fear from that quarter. The Tartars ſubdued a great part of the world by ferocity and undaunted courage, ſupported by liberty and independence. They acknowledged Genhizkan as their leader in war; but were as far from being ſlaves, as the Franks were when they conquered Gaul. Tamerlane again enjoyed but a ſubſtituted power, and never had the audacity to aſſume the title of Chan or Emperor. But the Tartars have ſubmitted to the ſame yoke of deſpotiſm that their ferocity impoſed upon others; and being now governed by a number of petty tyrants, their courage is broken by ſlavery, and they are no longer formidable to the reſt of mankind *.

Depopulation enters into the preſent ſketch as well as population. The latter follows not with greater certainty from equality of property, than the former from inequality. In every great ſtate, where the people, by proſperity and opulence, are ſunk into voluptuouſneſs, we hear daily complaints of depopulation. Cookery depopulates like a peſtilence; becauſe when it becomes an art, it brings within the compaſs of one ſtomach what is ſuffi-

* "Gallos in bellis floruiſſe accepimus," ſays Tacitus in his life of Agricola: "mox ſegnities cum otio intravit, amiſſa virtute pariter "ac libertate."—[In Engliſh thus: "We have heard that the "Gauls formerly made a figure in war; but becoming a prey to in-"dolence, the conſequence of peace, they loſt at once their valour "and their liberty."]—Spain, which defended itſelf with great bravery againſt the Romans, became an eaſy prey to the Vandals in the fifth century. When attacked by the Romans, it was divided into many free ſtates: when attacked by the Vandals, it was enervated by ſlavery under Roman deſpotiſm.

cient for ten in days of temperance; and is ſo far worſe than a peſtilence, that the people never recruit again. The inhabitants of France devour at preſent more food than the ſame number did formerly. The like is obſervable in Britain, and in every country where luxury abounds. Remedies are propoſed and put in practice, celebacy diſgraced, marriage encouraged, and rewards given for a numerous offspring. All in vain! The only effectual remedies are to encourage huſbandry, and to repreſs luxury. Olivares hoped to re-people Spain by encouraging matrimony. Abderam, a Mahometan king of Cordova, was a better politician. By encouraging induſtry, and procuring plenty of food, he re-peopled his kingdom in leſs than thirty years *.

Luxury is a deadly enemy to population, not only by intercepting food from the induſtrious, but by weakening the power of procreation. Indolence accompanies voluptuouſneſs, or rather is a branch of it: women of rank ſeldom move, but in changing place employ others to move them; and a woman enervated by indolence and intemperance, is ill qualified for the ſevere labour of child-bearing. Hence it is, that people of rank, where luxury prevails, are not prolific. This infirmity not only

* A foundling hoſpital is a greater enemy to population than liberty to expoſe infants, which is permitted to parents in China, and in ſome other countries. Both of them indeed encourage matrimony: but in ſuch hoſpitals, thouſands periſh yearly beyond the ordinary proportion; whereas few infants periſh by the liberty of expoſing them, parental affection generally prevailing over the diſtreſs of poverty. And, upon the whole, population gains more by that liberty than it loſes.

prevents

prevents population, but increaſes luxury, by accumulating wealth among a few blood-relations. A barren woman among the labouring poor, is a wonder. Could women of rank be perſuaded to make a trial, they would find more ſelf-enjoyment in temperance and exerciſe, than in the moſt refined luxury; and would have no cauſe to envy others the bleſſing of a numerous and healthy offspring.

Luxury is not a greater enemy to population by enervating men and women, than deſpotiſm is by reducing them to ſlavery, and deſtroying induſtry. Deſpotiſm is a greater peſt to the human ſpecies than an Egyptian plague; for by rendering men miſerable, it weakens both the appetite for procreation and the power. Free ſtates, on the contrary, are always populous: a man who is happy longs for children to make them alſo happy; and induſtry enables him to accompliſh his purpoſe. This obſervation is verified from the hiſtory of Greece, and of the Leſſer Aſia: the inhabitants anciently were free and extremely numerous: the preſent inhabitants, reduced to ſlavery, make a very poor figure with reſpect to numbers. A peſtilence deſtroys thoſe only who exiſt, and the loſs is ſoon repaired; but deſpotiſm, as above obſerved, ſtrikes at the very root of population.

An overflowing quantity of money in circulation, is another cauſe of depopulation. In a nation that grows rich by commerce, the price of labour increaſes with the quantity of circulating money, which of courſe raiſes the price of manufactures; and manufacturers who cannot find a vent for their high-rated goods in foreign markets, muſt give over buſineſs, and commence beggars, or retire

tire to another country where they may have a proſpect of ſucceſs. But luckily, there is a remedy in that caſe to prevent depopulation: land is cultivated to greater perfection by the ſpade than by the plough; and the more plentiful crops produced by the ſpade, are more than ſufficient to defray the additional expence of cultivation. This is a reſource for employing thoſe who cannot make bread as manufacturers; and deſerves well the attention of the legiſlature. The advantage of the ſpade is conſpicuous with reſpect to war; it provides a multitude of robuſt men for recruiting our armies, the want of whom may be ſupplied by the plough, till they return in peace to their former occupation.

## SKETCH III.

### Progreſs of Men with reſpect to PROPERTY.

AMONG the ſenſes inherent in the nature of man, the ſenſe of property is eminent. By this ſenſe wild animals caught by labour or art, are perceived to belong to the hunter or fiſher; they become his property. This ſenſe is the foundation of meum et tuum, a diſtinction of which no human being is ignorant. In the ſhepherd-ſtate, there is the ſame perception of property with reſpect to wild animals tamed for uſe, and alſo with reſpect to their progeny. It takes place alſo with reſpect to a field ſeperated from the common, and cultivated by a man for bread to himſelf and family [a].

[a] See Principles of Morality and Natural Religion, p. 77. edit. 2.

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The ſenſe of property is ſlower in its growth toward maturity than the external ſenſes, which are perfect even in childhood; but ripens faſter than the ſenſe of congruity, of ſymmetry, of dignity, of grace, and other delicate ſenſes, which ſcarce make any figure till we become men. Children diſcover a ſenſe of property in diſtinguiſhing their own chair, and their own ſpoon. In them however it is faint and obſcure, requiring time to bring it to perfection. The gradual progreſs of that ſenſe, from its infancy among ſavages to its maturity among poliſhed nations, is one of the moſt entertaining articles that belong to the preſent undertaking. But as that article makes a part of Hiſtorical law-tracts [b], nothing remains for me but a few gleanings.

Man is by nature a hoarding animal, having an appetite for ſtoring up things of uſe; and the ſenſe of property is beſtowed on men, for ſecuring to them what they thus ſtore up. Hence it appears, that things provided by Providence for our ſuſtenance and accommodation, were not intended to be poſſeſſed in common; and probably in the earlieſt ages every man ſeparately hunted for himſelf and his family. But chance prevails in that occupation; and it may frequently happen, that while ſome get more than enough, others muſt go ſupperleſs to bed. Senſible of that inconvenience, it crept into practice, for hunting and fiſhing to be carried on in common *. We find accordingly the practice

[b] Tract. 3.

* Inequalities of chance, which are great in a few inſtances, vaniſh almoſt entirely when the operation is frequently reiterated during a courſe

practice of hunting and fiſhing in common, even among groſs ſavages. Thoſe of New Holland, above mentioned, live upon ſmall fiſh dug out of the ſand when the ſea retires. Sometimes they get plenty, ſometimes very little; but whether ſucceſsful or unſucceſsful, all is broiled and ate in common. After eating they go to reſt: they return to their fiſhing next ebb of the tide, whether it be day or night, foul or fair; for go they muſt, or ſtarve. In ſmall tribes, where patriotiſm is vigorous, or in a country thinly peopled in proportion to its fertility, the living in common is extremely comfortable: but in a large ſtate where ſelfiſhneſs prevails, or in any ſtate where great population requires extraordinary culture, the beſt method is to allow every man to ſhift for himſelf and his family: men wiſh to labour for themſelves; and they labour more ardently for themſelves than for the public. Private property became more and more ſacred in the progreſs of arts and manufactures: to allow an

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courſe of time. Did every man's ſubſiſtence depend on the fruits of his own field, many would die of hunger, while others wallowed in plenty. Barter and commerce among the inhabitants of a diſtrict, leſſen the hazard of famine; the commerce of corn through a large kingdom, ſuch as France or Britain, leſſens it ſtill more: extend that commerce through Europe, through the world, and there will remain ſcarce a veſtige of the inequalities of chance: the crop of corn may fail in one province, or in one kingdom; but that it ſhould fail univerſally is beyond the varieties of chance. The ſame obſervation holds in every other matter of chance: one's gain or loſs at game for a night, for a week, may be conſiderable; but carry on the game for a year, and ſo little of chance remains, that it is almoſt the ſame whether one play for a guinea or for twenty. Hence a ſkilful inſurer never ventures much upon one bottom; but multiplies his bargains as much as poſſible; the more bargains he is engaged in, the greater is the probability of ſucceſs.

artiſt

artiſt of ſuperior talents no profit above others, would be a ſad diſcouragement to induſtry, and be ſcarce conſiſtent with common juſtice.

The ſenſe of property is not confined to the human ſpecies. The beavers perceive the timber they ſtore up for food, to be their property; and the bees ſeem to have the ſame perception with reſpect to their winter's proviſion of honey. Sheep know when they are in a treſpaſs, and run to their own paſture on the firſt glimpſe of a man. Monkies do the ſame when detected in robbing an orchard. Sheep and horned cattle have a ſenſe of property with reſpect to their reſting-place in a fold or incloſure, which every one guards againſt the incroachments of others. He muſt be a ſceptic indeed who denies that perception to rooks: thieves there are among them as among men; but if a rook purloin a ſtick from another's neſt, a council is held, much chattering enſues, and the lex talionis is applied, by demoliſhing the neſt of the criminal. To man are furniſhed rude materials only: to convert theſe into food and cloathing requires induſtry; and if he had not a ſenſe that the product of his labour belongs to himſelf, his induſtry would be extremely faint. In general, it is pleaſant to obſerve, that the ſenſe of property is always given where it is uſeful, and never but where it is uſeful.

An ingenious writer, deſcribing the inhabitants of Guiana, who continue hunters and fiſhers, makes an eloquent harangue upon the happineſs they enjoy, in having few wants and deſires, and in having very little notion of private property. "The manners of theſe Indians exhibit an amiable "picture of primeval innocence and happineſs.

"The eaſe with which their few wants are ſupplied, "renders diviſion of land unneceſſary; nor does it "afford any temptation to fraud or violence. That "proneneſs to vice, which among civilized nations "is eſteemed a propenſity of nature, has no exiſt- "ence in a country where every man enjoys in "perfection his native freedom and independence, "without hurting or being hurt by others. A per- "fect equality of rank, baniſhing all diſtinctions "but of age and perſonal merit, promotes freedom "in converſation, and firmneſs in action; and ſug- "geſts no deſires but what may be gratified with "innocence. Envy and diſcontent cannot ſubſiſt "with perfect equality; we ſcarce even hear of a "diſcontented lover, as there is no difference of "rank and fortune, the common obſtacles that pre- "vent fruition. Thoſe who have been unhappily "accuſtomed to the refinements of luxury, will "ſcarce be able to conceive, that an Indian, with "no covering but what modeſty requires, with no "ſhelter that deſerves the name of a houſe, and "with no food but of the coarſeſt kind, painfully "procured by hunting, can feel any happineſs: "and yet to judge from external appearance, the "happineſs of theſe people may be envied by the "wealthy of the moſt refined nations; and juſtly; "becauſe their ignorance of extravagant deſires, "and endleſs purſuits that torment the great world, "excludes every wiſh beyond the preſent. In a "word, the inhabitants of Guiana are an example "of what Socrates juſtly obſerves, that thoſe who "want the leaſt, approach the neareſt to the Gods, "who want nothing." It muſt be acknowledged, that the innocence of ſavages, here painted in fine colours,

colours, is in every reſpect more amiable than the luxury of opulent cities, where ſenſuality and ſelfiſhneſs are ruling paſſions. But is our author unacquainted with a middle ſtate between the two extremes, more ſuitable than either to the dignity of human nature? The appetite for property is not beſtowed upon us in vain: it has given birth to many uſeful arts, and to almoſt all the fine arts; it is ſtill more uſeful in furniſhing opportunity for gratifying the moſt dignified natural affections; for without private property, what place would there be for benevolence or charity[c]? Without private property, there would be no induſtry; and without induſtry, men would remain ſavages for ever.

The appetite for property, in its nature a great bleſſing, degenerates, I acknowledge, into a great curſe when it tranſgreſſes the bounds of moderation. Before money was introduced, the appetite ſeldom was immoderate, becauſe plain neceſſaries were its only objects. But money is a ſpecies of property, of ſuch extenſive uſe as greatly to inflame the appetite. Money prompts men to be induſtrious; and the beautiful productions of induſtry and art, rouſing the imagination, excite a violent deſire of fine houſes, ornamented gardens, and of every thing gay and ſplendid. Habitual wants multiply: luxury and ſenſuality gain ground: the appetite for property becomes headſtrong, and muſt be gratified even at the expence of juſtice and honour. Examples are without number of this progreſs; and yet the following hiſtory deſerves to be kept in memory, as a ſtriking and lamentable illuſtration. Hiſpaniola was that part of America which Co-

[c] Hiſtorical law-tracts, tract 3.

lumbus firſt diſcovered anno 1497. He landed upon the territory of Guacanaric, one of the principal Cacics of the iſland. That prince, who had nothing barbarous in his manners, received his gueſts with cordiality; and encouraged his people to vie with one another in obliging them. To gratify the Spaniſh appetite for gold, they parted freely with their richeſt ornaments; and in return, were ſatisfied with glaſs beads, and ſuch baubles. The Admiral's ſhip having been toſſed againſt the rocks in a hurricane, Guacanaric was not wanting to his friend on that occaſion: he convened a number of men to aſſiſt in unloading the ſhip; and attended himſelf till the cargo was ſafely lodged in a magazine. The Admiral having occaſion to return to Spain, left a part of his crew behind; who, forgetting the leſſons of moderation he had taught them, turned licentious. The remonſtrances of Guacanaric were in vain: they ſeized upon the gold and wives of the Indians; and in general treated them with great cruelty. Such enormities did not long paſs unreſented: the rapacious Spaniards, after much bloodſhed, were ſhut up in their fort, and reduced to extremity. Unhappily a reinforcement arrived from Spain: a long and bloody war enſued, which did not end till the iſlanders were wholly brought under. Of this iſland, about 200 leagues in length and between ſixty and eighty in breadth, a Spaniſh hiſtorian bears witneſs, that the inhabitants amounted to a million when Columbus landed *. The Spaniards, relentleſs in their

* As little corn was at that time produced in the iſland, and leſs of animal food, there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that the numbers are exaggerated.

their cruelty, forced theſe poor people to abandon the culture of their fields, and to retire to the woods and mountains. Hunted like wild beaſts even in theſe retreats, they fled from mountain to mountain, till hunger and fatigue, which deſtroyed more than the ſword, forced them to deliver themſelves up to their implacable conquerors. There remained at that time but 60,000, who were divided among the Spaniards as ſlaves. Exceſſive fatigue in the mines, and want of even the common neceſſaries of life, reduced them in five years to 14,000. Conſidering them merely as beaſts of burden, they would have yielded more profit had they been treated with leſs inhumanity. Avarice frequently counteracts its own end: by graſping too much, it loſes all. The Emperor Charles reſolved to apply ſome effectual remedy; but being interrupted for ſome time by various avocations, he got intelligence that the poor Indians were totally extirpated. And they were ſo in reality, a handful excepted, who lay hid in the mountains, and ſubſiſted as by a miracle in the midſt of their enemies. That handful were diſcovered many years after by ſome hunters; who treated them with humanity, regretting perhaps the barbarity of their forefathers. The poor Indians, docile and ſubmiſſive, embraced the Chriſtian religion, and aſſumed by degrees the manners and cuſtoms of their maſters. They ſtill exiſt, and live by hunting and fiſhing.

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gerated. But whether a million, or half of that number, the moral is the ſame.

Affection for property! Janus double-faced, productive of many bleſſings, but degenerating often to be a curſe. In thy right hand, Induſtry, a cornucopia of plenty: in thy left, Avarice, a Pandora's box of deadly poiſon.

## SKETCH IV.

### Origin and Progreſs of COMMERCE.

THE few wants of men in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, are ſupplied by barter or permutation in its rudeſt form. In barter, the rational conſideration is, what is wanted by one, and what can be ſpared by the other. But ſavages are not always ſo clear-ſighted: a ſavage who wants a knife will give for it any thing that is leſs uſeful to him at preſent; without conſidering either the preſent wants of the perſon he is dealing with, or his own future wants. An inhabitant of Guiana will for a fiſh-hook give more at one time, than at another he will give for a hatchet, or for a gun. Kempfer reports, that an inhabitant of Puli Timor, an iſland adjacent to Malacca, will, for a bit of coarſe linen not worth three halfpence, give proviſions worth three or four ſhillings. But people improve by degrees, attending to what is wanted and to what can be ſpared on both ſides; and in that leſſon, the American ſavages in our neighbourhood are not a little expert.

Barter or permutation, in its original form, proved miſerably deficient, when men and their wants multiplied. That ſort of commerce cannot be carried on at a diſtance; and even among neighbours,

bours, it does not always happen, that the one can ſpare what the other wants. Barter is ſomewhat enlarged by covenants: a buſhel of wheat is delivered to me, upon my promiſing an equivalent at a future time. But what if I have nothing that my neighbour may have occaſion for? or what if my promiſe be not relied on? Thus barter, even with the aid of covenants, proves ſtill inſufficient. The numberleſs wants of men cannot readily be ſupplied without ſome commodity in general eſtimation, that will be gladly accepted in exchange for every other article of commerce. That commodity ought not to be bulky, nor be expenſive in keeping, nor be conſumable by time. Gold and ſilver are metals which poſſeſs theſe properties in an eminent degree. They are at the ſame time perfectly homogenous in whatever country produced: two maſſes of pure gold or of pure ſilver are always equal in value, provided they be of the ſame weight. Theſe metals are alſo diviſible into ſmall parts, convenient to be given for goods of ſmall value.

Gold and ſilver, when firſt introduced into commerce, were probably bartered, like other commodities, by bulk merely. Rock-ſalt in Ethiopia, white as ſnow and hard as ſtone, is to this day bartered in that manner with other goods. It is dug out of the mountain Lafta, formed into plates of a foot long, and three inches broad and thick; and a portion is broke off equivalent in value to the thing wanted. But more nicety came to be introduced into the commerce of gold and ſilver: inſtead of being given looſely by bulk, every portion was weighed in ſcales: and this method of barter is practiſed in China, in Ethiopia, and in many other

other countries. Even weight was at length diſcovered to be an imperfect ſtandard. Ethiopian ſalt may be proof againſt adulteration; but weight is no ſecurity againſt mixing gold and ſilver with baſe metals. To prevent that fraud, pieces of gold and ſilver are impreſſed with a public ſtamp, vouching both the purity and quantity; and ſuch pieces are termed coin. This was a notable improvement in commerce; and, like other improvements, was probably at firſt thought the utmoſt ſtretch of human invention. It was not foreſeen, that theſe metals wear by much handling in the courſe of circulation; and conſequently, that in time the public ſtamp is reduced to be a voucher of the purity only, not of the quantity. Hence proceed manifold inconveniences; for which no other remedy occurs, but to reſtore the former method of weighing, truſting to the ſtamp for the purity only. This proves an embarraſſment in commerce; but it will facilitate paper-money, which is free of that embarraſſment.

When gold or ſilver in bullion is exchanged with other commodities, ſuch commerce paſſes under the common name of barter or permutation: when current coin is exchanged, ſuch commerce is termed buying and ſelling; and the money exchanged is termed the price of the goods.

As commerce cannot be carried on to any extent without a ſtandard for comparing goods of different kinds, and as every commercial country is poſſeſſed of ſuch a ſtandard, it ſeems difficult to ſay by what means the ſtandard has been eſtabliſhed. It is plainly not founded on nature; for the different kinds of goods have naturally no common meaſure by

by which they can be valued: two quarters of wheat can be compared with twenty; but what rule have we to compare wheat with broad cloth, or either of them with gold, or gold even with ſilver or copper? Several ingenious writers have endeavoured to account for the comparative value of commodities, by reducing them all to the labour employed in raiſing food; which labour is ſaid to be a ſtandard for meaſuring the value of all other labour, and conſequently of all things produced by labour. "If, for example, a buſhel of wheat and "an ounce of ſilver be produced by the ſame quan-"tity of labour, will they not be equal in value?" This ſtandard is imperfect in many reſpects. I obſerve, firſt, that to give it a rational appearance, there is a neceſſity to maintain, contrary to fact, that all materials on which labour is employed are of equal value. It requires as much labour to make a braſs candleſtick as one of ſilver, though far from being of the ſame value. A buſhel of wheat may ſometimes equal in value an ounce of ſilver; but an ounce of gold does not always require more labour than a buſhel of wheat; and yet they differ widely in value. The value of labour, it is true, enters into the value of every thing produced by it; but is far from making the whole value. If an ounce of ſilver were of no greater value than the labour of procuring it, that ounce would go for payment of the labour, and nothing be left to the proprietor of the mine: ſuch a doctrine will not reliſh with the King of Spain; and as little with the Kings of Golconda and Portugal, proprietors of diamond mines. Secondly, The ſtandard under review ſuppoſes every ſort of labour to

be of equal value, which however will not be maintained. An uſeful art in great requeſt may not be generally known: the few who are ſkilful may juſtly demand more for their labour than the common rate. An expert huſbandman beſtows no more labour in raiſing an hundred buſhels of wheat, than his ignorant neighbour in raiſing fifty: if labour be the only ſtandard, the two crops ought to afford the ſame price. Was not Raphael intitled to a higher price for one of his fine tablatures, than a dunce is for a tavern-ſign, ſuppoſing the labour to have been equal? Laſtly, as this ſtandard is applicable to things only that require labour, what rule is to be followed with reſpect to natural fruits, and other things that require no labour?

Laying aſide then this attempt to fix a ſtandard, it occurs to me, that the value of a commodity depends chiefly, though not ſolely, on the demand. Quantity beyond the demand renders even neceſſaries of no value; of which water is an inſtance. It may be held accordingly as a general rule, That the value of goods in commerce depends on a demand beyond what their quantity can ſatisfy; and riſes in proportion to the exceſs of the demand above the quantity. Even water becomes valuable in countries where the demand exceeds the quantity: in arid regions, ſprings of water are highly valued; and in old times were frequently the occaſion of broils and bloodſhed. Comparing next different commodities with reſpect to value, that commodity of which the exceſs of the demand above the quantity is the greater, will be of the greater value. Were utility or intrinſic value only to be conſidered, a pound of iron would be worth ten pounds of gold;

but

but as the exceſs of the demand for gold above its quantity is much greater than that of iron, the latter is of leſs value in the market. A pound of opium or of Jeſuit's bark is, for its ſalutary effects, more valuable than gold; and yet, for the reaſon given, a pound of gold will purchaſe many pounds of theſe drugs. Thus, in general, the exceſs of the demand above the quantity is the ſtandard that chiefly fixes the mercantile value of commodities *.

The cauſes that make a demand, ſeem not ſo eaſily aſcertained. One thing is evident, that the demand for neceſſaries in any country, muſt depend on the number of its inhabitants. This rule holds not ſo ſtrictly in articles of convenience; becauſe ſome people are more greedy of conveniencies than others. As to articles of taſte and luxury, the demand appears ſo arbitrary as ſcarce to be reducible to any rule. A taſte for beauty is general; but ſo different in different perſons, as to make the demand extremely variable: the faint repreſentation of any plant in an agate, is valued by ſome for its rarity; but the demand is far from being univerſal. Savages are deſpiſed for being fond of glaſs beads; but were ſuch toys equally rare among us, they would be coveted by many: a copper coin of the Emperor Otho is of no intrinſic value; and yet, for its rarity, would draw a great price.

The value of gold and ſilver in commerce, like that of other commodities, was at firſt, we may

* In a voyage to Arabia Fœlix, ann. 1708, by a French ſhip, the King of the territory where the crew landed, gave them an ox weighing a thouſand or twelve hundred pounds for a fuſee, and three ſcore pounds-weight of rice for twenty-eight ounces of gun-powder. The goods bartered were eſtimated according to the wants of each party, or, in other words, according to the demand above the quantity.

believe, both arbitrary and fluctuating; and, like other commodities, they found in time their value in the market. With reſpect to value, however, there is a great difference between money and other commodities. Goods that are expenſive in keeping, ſuch as cattle, or that are impaired by time, ſuch as corn, will always be firſt offered in exchange for what is wanted; and when ſuch goods are offered to ſale, the vender muſt be contented with the current price: in making the bargain the purchaſer has the advantage; for he ſuffers not by reſerving his money to a better market. And thus commodities are brought down by money to the loweſt value that can afford any profit. At the ſame time, gold and ſilver ſooner find their value than other commodities. The value of the latter is regulated both by the quantity and by the demand; the value of the former is regulated by the quantity only, the demand being unbounded: and even with reſpect to quantity, theſe precious metals are leſs variable than other commodities.

Gold and ſilver being thus ſooner fixed in their value than other commodities, become a ſtandard for valuing every other commodity, and conſequently for comparative values. A buſhel of wheat, for example, being valued at five ſhillings, a yard of broad cloth at fifteen, their comparative values are as one to three.

A ſtandard of values is eſſential to commerce; and therefore where gold and ſilver are unknown, other ſtandards are eſtabliſhed by practice. The only ſtandard among the ſavages in North America is the ſkin of a beaver. Ten of theſe are given for a gun, two for a pound of gun-powder, one for four

four pounds of lead, one for ſix knives, one for a hatchet, ſix for a coat of woollen cloth, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of tobacco. Some nations in Africa employ ſhells, termed couries, for a ſtandard.

As my chief view in this ſketch is, to examine how far induſtry and commerce are affected by the quantity of circulating coin, I premiſe, in that view, the following plain propoſitions: Suppoſing, firſt, the quantity of money in circulation, and the quantity of goods in the market, to continue the ſame, the price will riſe and fall with the demand. For when more goods are demanded than the market affords, thoſe who offer the higheſt price will be preferred: as, on the other hand, when the goods brought to market exceed the demand, the venders have no reſource but to entice purchaſers by a low price. The price of fiſh, fleſh, butter, and cheeſe, is much higher than formerly; for theſe being now the daily food even of the loweſt people, the demand for them is greatly increaſed.

Suppoſing now a fluctuation in the quantity of goods only, the price falls as the quantity increaſes, and riſes as the quantity decreaſes. The farmer whoſe quantity of corn is doubled by a favourable ſeaſon, muſt ſell at half the uſual price; becauſe the purchaſer, who ſees a ſuperfluity, will pay no more for it. The contrary happens upon a ſcanty crop: thoſe who want corn muſt ſtarve, or give the market-price, however high. The manufactures of wool, flax, and metals, are much cheaper than formerly; for though the demand has increaſed, yet by ſkill and induſtry the quantities produced have increaſed in a greater proportion. More pot-herbs

herbs are consumed than formerly; and yet by skilful culture the quantity is so much greater in proportion, as to have lowered the price to less than one half of what it was eighty years ago.

It is easy to combine the quantity and demand, supposing a fluctuation in both. Where the quantity exceeds the usual demand, more people will be tempted to purchase by the low price; and where the demand rises considerably above the quantity, the price will rise in proportion. In mathematical language, these propositions may be thus expressed, that the price is directly as the demand, and inversely as the quantity.

A variation in the quantity of circulating coin is the most intricate circumstance; because it never happens without making a variation in the demand for goods, and frequently in the quantity. I take the liberty however to suppose, that there is no variation but in the quantity of circulating coin; for though that cannot happen in reality, yet the result of the supposition will throw light upon what really happens: the subject is involved, and I wish to make it plain. I put a simple case, that the half of our current coin is at once swept away by some extraordinary accident. This at first will embarrass our internal commerce, as the vender will insist for the usual price, which now cannot be afforded. But the error of such demand will soon be discovered; and the price of commodities, after some fluctuation, will settle at the one half of what it was formerly. At the same time, there is here no downfal in the value of commodities, which cannot happen while the quantity and demand continue unvaried. The purchasing for a six pence what formerly cost

coſt a ſhilling, makes no alteration in the value of the things purchaſed; becauſe a ſix pence is equal in value to what a ſhilling was formerly. In a word, when money is ſcarce, it muſt bear a high value: it muſt in particular go far in the purchaſe of goods; which we expreſs by ſaying, that goods are cheap. —Put next the caſe, that by ſome accident our ſpecie is inſtantly doubled. Upon ſuppoſition that the quantity and demand continue unvaried, the reſult muſt be, not inſtantaneous indeed, to double the price of commodities. Upon the former ſuppoſition, a ſixpence is in effect advanced to be a ſhilling: upon the preſent ſuppoſition, a ſhilling has in effect ſunk down to a ſixpence. And here again it ought to be obſerved, that though the price is augmented, there is no real alteration in the value of commodities. A bullock that, ſome years ago, could have been purchaſed for ten pounds, will at preſent yield fifteen. The vulgar ignorantly think, that the value of horned cattle has riſen in that proportion. The advanced price may, in ſome degree, be occaſioned by a greater conſumption; but it is chiefly occaſioned by a greater quantity of money in circulation *.

* It is commonly thought, that the rate of intereſt depends on the quantity of circulating coin; that intereſt will be high when money is ſcarce, and low when money abounds. But whatever be the cauſe of high or low intereſt, I am certain that the quantity of circulating coin can have no influence. Suppoſing, as above, the half of our money to be withdrawn, a hundred pounds lent ought ſtill to afford but five pounds as intereſt; becauſe if the principal be doubled in value, ſo is alſo the intereſt. If, on the other hand, the quantity of our money be doubled, the five pounds of intereſt will continue to bear the ſame proportion to the principal as formerly.

Combining

Combining all the circumſtances, the reſult is, that if the quantity of goods and of money continue the ſame, the price will be in proportion to the demand. If the demand and quantity of goods continue the ſame, the price will be in proportion to the quantity of money. And if the demand and quantity of money continue the ſame, the price will fall as the quantity increaſes, and riſe as the quantity diminiſhes.

Theſe ſpeculative notions will, I hope, enable us with accuracy to examine, how induſtry and commerce are affected by variations in the quantity of circulating coin. It is evident, that arts and manufactures cannot be carried on to any extent, without coin. Hands totally employed in any art or manufacture require wages daily or weekly, becauſe they muſt go to market for every neceſſary of life. The clothier, the tailor, the ſhoe-maker, the gardener, the farmer, muſt employ ſervants to prepare their goods for the market, to whom, for that reaſon, wages ought to be regularly paid. In a word, commerce among an endleſs number of individuals who depend on each other even for neceſſaries, would be altogether inextricable without a quantity of circulating coin. Money may be juſtly conceived to be the oil, that lubricates all the ſprings and wheels of a great machine, and preſerves it in motion *. Suppoſing us now to be provided with no

* Money cannot be juſtly ſaid to be deficient where there is ſufficiency to purchaſe every commodity, including labour, that is wanted. Any greater quantity is hurtful to commerce, as will be ſeen afterward. But to be forced to contract debt even when one deals prudently and profitably, and conſequently to be ſubjected to legal execution, is a proof, by no means ambiguous, of ſcarcity of money; which till of late was remarkably the caſe in Scotland.

more

more of that precious oil than is barely ſufficient for the eaſy motion of our induſtry and manufactures, a diminution of the neceſſary quantity muſt cramp all of them. Our induſtry and manufactures muſt decay; and if we do not confine the expence of living to our preſent circumſtances, which ſeldom happens, the balance of trade with foreign nations will turn againſt us, and leave us no reſource for making the balance equal, but to export our gold and ſilver. And when we are drained of theſe metals, farewell to arts and manufactures. We ſhall be reduced to the condition of ſavages, which is, that each individual depends entirely on his own labour for procuring every neceſſary of life. The conſequences of a favourable balance are at firſt directly oppoſite; but at the long-run come out to be the ſame: they are ſweat in the mouth, but bitter in the ſtomach. A briſk influx of riches by a favourable balance, rouſes our activity. Plenty of money elevates our ſpirits, and inſpires an appetite for pleaſure: we indulge a taſte for ſhow and embelliſhment; become hoſpitable, and refine upon the arts of luxury. Plenty of money is a prevailing motive even with the moſt ſedate, to exert themſelves in building, in huſbandry, in manufactures, and in other ſolid improvements. Such articles require both hands and materials, the prices of which are raiſed by the additional demand. The labourer again whoſe wages are thus raiſed, is not now ſatisfied with mere neceſſaries; but inſiſts for conveniencies, the price of which alſo is raiſed by the new demand. In ſhort, increaſe of money raiſes the price of every commodity; partly from the greater quantity of money, and partly from the additional

demand for ſupplying artificial wants. Hitherto a delightful view of proſperous commerce: but behold the remote conſequences. High wages will undoubtedly promote at firſt the ſpirit of induſtry, and double the quantity of labour: but the utmoſt exertion of labour is limited within certain bounds; and conſequently a perpetual influx of gold and ſilver will not for ever be attended with a proportional quantity of work: The price of labour will riſe in proportion to the quantity of money; but the produce will not riſe in the ſame proportion; and for that reaſon our manufactures will be dearer than formerly. Hence a diſmal ſcene. The high price at home of our manufactures will exclude us from foreign markets; for if the merchant cannot draw there for his goods what he paid at home, with ſome profit, he muſt abandon foreign commerce altogether. And what is ſtill more diſmal, we ſhall be deprived even of our own markets; for in ſpite of the utmoſt vigilance, foreign commodities, cheaper than our own, will be poured in upon us. The laſt ſcene is to be deprived of our gold and ſilver, and reduced to the ſame miſerable ſtate as if the balance had been againſt us from the beginning.

However certain it may appear, that an augmentation in the quantity of money muſt raiſe the price of labour and of manufactures, yet there is a fact that ſeems to contradict the propoſition, which is, that in no other country are labour and manufactures ſo cheap as in the two peninſulas on the right and left of the Ganges, though in no other country is there ſuch plenty of money. To account for this ſingular fact, political writers ſay,

that

that money is there amaſſed by the nabobs, and withdrawn from circulation. This is not ſatisfactory: the chief exportation from theſe peninſulas are their manufactures, the price of which comes firſt to the merchant and manufacturer; and how can that happen without raiſing the price of labour? Rice, it is true, is the food of their labouring poor; and an acre of rice yields more food than five acres of wheat: but the cheapneſs of neceſſaries, though it hath a conſiderable influence in keeping down the price of labour, cannot have an effect ſo extraordinary as to keep it conſtantly down, in oppoſition to an overflowing current of money. The populouſneſs of theſe two countries is a circumſtance that has been totally overlooked. Every traveller is amazed how ſuch ſwarms of people can find bread, however fertile the ſoil may be. Let us examine that circumſtance. One thing is evident, that were the people fully employed, there would not be a demand for the tenth part of their manufactures. Here then is a country where hand-labour is a drug for want of employment. The people at the ſame time, ſober and induſtrious, are glad to be employed at any rate; and whatever pittance is gained by labour makes always ſome addition. Hence it is, that in theſe peninſulas, ſuperfluity of hands overbalancing both the quantity of money and the demand for their manufactures, ſerves to keep the price extremely low.

What is now ſaid diſcovers an error in the propoſition above laid down. It holds undoubtedly in Europe, and in every country where there is work for all the people, that an augmentation in the circulating coin raiſes the price of labour and of manufactures;

nufactures: but ſuch augmentation has no ſenſible effect in a country where there is a ſuperfluity of hands, who are always diſpoſed to work when they find employment.

From theſe premiſes it will be evident, that unleſs there be a ſuperfluity of hands, manufactures can never flouriſh in a country abounding with mines of gold and ſilver. This in effect is the caſe of Spain: a conſtant influx of theſe metals, raiſing the price of labour and of manufactures, has deprived the Spaniards of foreign markets, and alſo of their own: they are reduced to purchaſe from ſtrangers even the neceſſaries of life. What a diſmal condition will they be reduced to when their mines come to be exhauſted!

To illuſtrate this obſervation, which indeed is of great importance, I enter more minutely into the condition of Spain. The rough materials of ſilk, wool, and iron, are produced there more perfect than in any other country; and yet flouriſhing manufactures of theſe would be ruinous to it in its preſent ſtate. Let us only ſuppoſe that Spain itſelf could furniſh all the commodities that are demanded in its American territories; what would be the conſequence? The gold and ſilver produced by that trade would centre and circulate in Spain: money would become a drug: labour and manufactures would riſe to a high price; and every neceſſary of life, not excepting manufactures of ſilk, wool, and iron, would be ſmuggled into Spain, the high price there being ſufficient to overbalance every riſk: Spain would be left without induſtry, and without people. Spain was actually in the flouriſhing ſtate here ſuppoſed when America was diſcovered:

diſcovered: its gold and ſilver mines enflamed the diſeaſe; and conſequently was the greateſt misfortune that ever befel that once potent kingdom. The exportation of our ſilver coin to the Eaſt-Indies, ſo loudly exclaimed againſt by ſhallow politicians, is to us, on the contrary, a moſt ſubſtantial benefit; it keeps up the value of ſilver, and conſequently leſſens the value of labour and of goods, which enables us to maintain our place in foreign markets. Were there no drain for our ſilver, its quantity in our continent would ſink its value ſo much as to render the American mines unprofitable. Notwithſtanding the great flow of money to the Eaſt Indies, many mines in the Weſt Indies are given up, becauſe they afford not the expence of working; and were the value of ſilver in Europe brought much lower, the whole ſilver mines in the Weſt Indies would be neceſſarily abandoned. Thus our Eaſt India commerce, which is thought ruinous by many, becauſe it is a drain to much of our ſilver, is for that very reaſon profitable to all. The Spaniards profit by importing it into Europe; and other nations profit, by receiving it for their manufactures.

How ignorantly do people ſtruggle againſt the neceſſary connection of cauſes and effects! If money do not overflow, a commerce in which the imports exceed in value the exports, will ſoon drain a nation of its money, and put an end to induſtry. Commercial nations for that reaſon ſtruggle hard for a favourable balance of trade; and they fondly imagine that it cannot be too favourable. If advantageous to them, it muſt be diſadvantageous to thoſe they deal with; which proves equally ruinous

ous to both. They foreſee, indeed, but without concern, immediate ruin to thoſe they deal with; but they have no inclination to foreſee, that ultimately it will prove equally ruinous to themſelves. It appears the intention of Providence, that all nations ſhould benefit by commerce as by ſunſhine; and it is ſo ordered, that an unequal balance is prejudicial to the gainers as well as to the loſers: the latter are immediate ſufferers; but not leſs ſo ultimately are the former. This is one remarkable inſtance, among many, of providential wiſdom in conducting human affairs, independent of the will of man, and frequently againſt his will. An ambitious nation, placed advantageouſly for trade, would willingly engroſs all to themſelves, and reduce their neighbours to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. But an invincible bar is oppoſed to ſuch avarice, making an overgrown commerce the means of its own deſtruction. The commercial balance held by the hand of Providence, is never permitted to preponderate much to one ſide; and every nation partakes, or may partake, of all the comforts of life. Engroſſing is bad policy; and men are prompted, both by intereſt and duty, to ſecond the plan of Providence, and to preſerve, as near as poſſible, equality in the balance of trade.

Upon theſe principles, a wiſe people, having acquired a ſtock of money ſufficient for an extenſive commerce, will tremble at a balance too advantageous: they will reſt ſatisfied with an equal balance, which is the golden mean. A diſadvantageous balance may always be prevented by induſtry and frugality: but by what means is a balance

too

too favourable to be guarded againſt? With reſpect to that queſtion, it is not the quantity ſingly of gold and ſilver in a country that raiſes the price of labour and of manufactures, but the quantity in circulation; and may not the circulating quantity be regulated by the ſtate, permitting no coinage but what is beneficial to its manufactures? Let the regiſters of foreign mints be carefully watched, in order that our current coin may not exceed that of our induſtrious neighbours. There will always be a demand for the ſurplus of our bullion, either to be exported as a commodity, or to be purchaſed at home for plate: which cannot be too much encouraged, being ready at every criſis to be coined for public ſervice. The ſenate of Genoa has wiſely burdened porcelane with a heavy tax, being a foreign luxury; but it has not leſs wiſely left gold and ſilver plate free; whilſt we moſt unwiſely have loaded it with a duty.

The accumulating of money in a public treaſury, anciently the practice of every prudent monarch, prevents ſuperfluity. Lies there any good objection againſt that practice, in a trading nation, where gold and ſilver flow in with impetuoſity? A great ſum locked up by a frugal king, Henry VII. of England for example, leſſens the quantity of money in circulation: profuſion in a ſucceſſor, which was the caſe of Henry VIII. is a ſpur to induſtry, ſimilar to the influx of gold and ſilver from the new world. The canton of Bern, by locking up money in its treaſury, poſſeſſes the miraculous art of reconciling immenſe wealth with frugality and cheap labour. A climate not kindly, and a ſoil not naturally fertile, enured the inhabi-

tants

tants to temperance and to virtue. Patriotiſm is their ruling paſſion: they conſider themſelves as children of the republic; are fond of ſerving their mother; and hold themſelves ſufficiently recompenſed by the privilege of ſerving her; by which means the public revenue greatly exceeds the expence of government. They carefully lock up the ſurplus for purchaſing land when a proper opportunity offers; which is a ſhining proof of their diſintereſtedneſs as well as of their wiſdom. By that politic meaſure, much more than by war, the canton of Bern, from a very ſlender origin, is now far ſuperior to any of the other cantons in extent of territory. But in what other part of the globe are there to be found miniſters of ſtate, moderate and diſintereſted like the citizens of Bern! In the hands of a rapacious miniſtry, the greateſt treaſure would not be long-lived: under the management of a Britiſh miniſtry, it would vaniſh in the twinkling of an eye; and do more miſchief by augmenting our money in circulation above what is ſalutary, than formerly it did good by confining it within moderate bounds. But againſt ſuch a meaſure there lies an objection ſtill more weighty than its being an ineffectual remedy: in the hands of an ambitions prince it would prove dangerous to liberty.

If the foregoing meaſures be not reliſhed, I can diſcover no other means for preſerving our ſtation in foreign markets, but a bounty on exportation. The ſum would be great: but the preſerving our induſtry and manufactures, and the preventing an influx of foreign manufactures, are conſpicuous advantages that cannot be purchaſed too dear. At the ſame time, a bounty on exportation would not be

be an inſupportable load: on the contrary, ſuperfluity of wealth, procured by a balance conſtantly favourable, would make the load abundantly eaſy. A proper bounty would balance the growing price of labour and materials at home, and keep open the foreign market. By neglecting that ſalutary meaſure, the Dutch have loſt all their manufactures, a neglect that has greatly benefited both England and France. The Dutch indeed act prudently in with-holding that benefit as much as poſſible from their powerful neighbours: to prevent purchaſing from them, they conſume the manufactures of India.

The manufactures of Spain, once extenſive, have been extirpated, partly by their mines of gold and ſilver. Authors aſcribe to the ſame cauſe the decline of their agriculture; but erroneouſly: on the contrary, ſuperfluity of gold and ſilver is favourable to agriculture, by raiſing the price of its productions. It raiſes alſo, it is true, the price of labour; but that additional expence is far from balancing the profit made by high prices of whatever is raiſed out of the ground. Too much wealth indeed is apt to make the farmer preſs into a higher rank: but it is the landlord's fault if that evil be not prevented by a proper heightening of the rent, which will always confine the farmer within his own ſphere.

As gold and ſilver are eſſential to commerce, foreign and domeſtic, ſeveral commercial nations, fond of theſe precious metals, have endeavoured moſt abſurdly to bar the exportation by penal laws; forgetting that gold and ſilver will never be exported while the balance of trade is in their favour,

and that they muſt neceſſarily be exported when the balance is againſt them. Neither do they conſider, that if a people continue induſtrious, they cannot be long afflicted with an unfavourable balance; for the value of money, riſing in proportion to its ſcarcity, will lower the price of their manufactures, and promote exportation: the balance will turn in their favour; and money will flow in, till by plenty its value be reduced to a par with that of neighbouring nations.

It is an important queſtion, Whether a bank be upon the whole benefical or hurtful to commerce. It is undoubtedly a ſpur to induſtry, like a new influx of money: but then, like ſuch influx, it raiſes the price of labour and of manufactures. Weighing theſe two facts in a juſt balance, the reſult ſeems to be, that in a country where money is ſcarce, a bank properly conſtituted is a great bleſſing, as it in effect multiplies the ſpecie, and promotes induſtry and manufactures; but that in a country which poſſeſſes money ſufficient for an extenſive trade, the only bank that will not hurt foreign commerce, is that which is erected for ſupplying the merchant with ready money by diſcounting bills. At the ſame time, much caution and circumſpection is neceſſary with reſpect to banks of both kinds. A bank erected for diſcounting bills, ought to be confined to bills really granted in the courſe of commerce; and ought to avoid, as much as poſſible, the being impoſed on by fictitious bills drawn merely in order to procure a loan of money. And with reſpect to a bank purpoſely erected for lending money, there is great danger of extending credit too far, not only with reſpect to the

the bank itſelf and to its numerous debtors, but with reſpect to the country in general, by raiſing the price of labour and of manufactures, which is the never-failing reſult of too great plenty of money, whether coin or paper.

The different effects of plenty and ſcarcity of money, have not eſcaped that penetrating genius, the ſovereign of Pruſſia. Money is not ſo plentiful in his dominions as to make it neceſſary to withdraw a quantity, by heaping up treaſure. He indeed always retains in his treaſury ſix or ſeven millions Sterling for anſwering unforeſeen demands: but being ſenſible that the withdrawing from circulation any larger ſum, would be prejudicial to commerce, every farthing ſaved from the neceſſary expence of government, is laid out upon buildings, upon operas, upon any thing, rather than cramp circulation. In that kingdom, a bank eſtabliſhed for lending money would promote induſtry and manufactures.

## SKETCH V.

### Origin and Progreſs of ARTS.

### SECTION I.

#### USEFUL ARTS.

SOME uſeful arts muſt be nearly coeval with the human race; for food, cloathing, and habitation, even in their original ſimplicity, require ſome art. Many other arts are of ſuch antiquity as to place the inventors beyond the reach of tradi-

tion. Several have gradually crept into exiſtence, without an inventor. The buſy mind, however, accuſtomed to a beginning in things, cannot reſt till it finds or imagines a beginning to every art. Bacchus is ſaid to have invented wine; and Staphylus, the mixing water with wine. The bow and arrow are aſcribed by tradition to Scythos, ſon of Jupiter, though a weapon all the world over. Spinning is ſo uſeful, that it muſt be honoured with ſome illuſtrious inventor: it was aſcribed by the Egyptians to their goddeſs Iſis; by the Greeks to Minerva; by the Peruvians to Mama Ella, wife to their firſt ſovereign Mango Capac; and by the Chineſe to the wife of their Emperor Yao. Mark here, by the way, a connection of ideas: ſpinning is a female occupation, and it muſt have had a female inventor *.

In the hunter-ſtate, men are wholly occupied in procuring food, cloathing, habitation, and other neceſſaries; and have no time nor zeal for ſtudying conveniencies. The eaſe of the ſhepherd-ſtate affords both time and inclination for uſeful arts; which are greatly promoted by numbers who are relieved by agriculture from bodily labour: the ſoil, by gradual improvements in huſbandry, affords plenty, with leſs labour than at firſt; and the ſurplus hands are employed, firſt, in uſeful arts, and,

* The Illinois are induſtrious above all their American neighbours. Their women are neat-handed; they ſpin the wool of their horned cattle, which is as fine as that of the Engliſh ſheep. The ſtuffs made of it are dyed black, yellow, or red, and cut into garments ſewed with roe buck ſinews. After drying theſe ſinews in the ſun, and beating them, they draw out threads as white and fine as any that are made of flax, but much tougher.

next,

next, in thoſe of amuſement. Arts accordingly make the quickeſt progreſs in a fertile ſoil, which produces plenty with little labour. Arts flouriſhed early in Egypt and Chaldea, countries extremely fertile.

When men, who originally lived in caves, like ſome wild animals, began to think of a more commodious habitation, their firſt houſes were extremely ſimple; witneſs the houſes of the Canadian ſavages, which continue ſo to this day. Their houſes, ſays Charlevoix, are built with leſs art, neatneſs, and ſolidity, than thoſe of the beavers; having neither chimneys nor windows: a hole only is left in the roof, for admitting light, and emitting ſmoke. That hole muſt be ſtopped when it rains or ſnows; and of courſe the fire muſt be put out, that the inhabitants may not be blinded with ſmoke. To have paſſed ſo many ages in that manner, without thinking of any improvement, ſhows how greatly men are influenced by cuſtom. The blacks of Jamaica are ſtill more rude in their buildings: their huts are erected without even a hole in the roof; and accordingly at home they breathe nothing but ſmoke.

Revenge early produced hoſtile weapons. The club and the dart are obvious inventions: not ſo the bow and arrow; and for that reaſon it is not eaſy to ſay how that weapon came to be univerſal. As iron is ſeldom found in a mine like other metals, it was a late diſcovery: at the ſiege of Troy, ſpears, darts, and arrows, were headed with braſs. Meneſtheus, who ſucceeded Theſeus in the kingdom of Athens, and led fifty ſhips to the ſiege of Troy, was reputed the firſt who marſhalled an army

army in battle-array. Inſtruments of defence are made neceſſary by thoſe of offence. Trunks of trees, interlaced with branches, and ſupported with earth, made the firſt fortifications; to which ſucceeded a wall finiſhed with a parapet for ſhooting arrows at beſiegers. As a parapet covers but half of the body, holes were left in the wall from ſpace to ſpace, no larger than to give paſſage to an arrow. Beſiegers had no remedy but to beat down the wall: a battering-ram was firſt uſed by Pericles the Athenian, and perfected by the Carthaginians at the ſiege of Gades. To oppoſe that formidable machine, the wall was built with advanced parapets for throwing ſtones and fire upon the enemy, which kept him at a diſtance. A wooden booth upon wheels, and puſhed cloſe to the wall, ſecured the men who wrought the battering-ram. This invention was rendered ineffectual, by ſurrounding the wall with a deep and broad ditch. Beſiegers were reduced to the neceſſity of inventing engines for throwing ſtones and javelins upon thoſe who occupied the advanced parapets, in order to give opportunity for filling up the ditch; and ancient hiſtories expatiate upon the powerful operation of the catapulta and baliſta. Theſe engines ſuggeſted a new invention for defence: inſtead of a circular wall, it was built with ſalient angles, like the teeth of a ſaw, in order that one part might flank another. That form of a wall was afterward improved, by raiſing round towers upon the ſalient angles; and the towers were improved by making them ſquare. The ancients had no occaſion for any form more complete, being ſufficient for defending againſt all the miſſile weapons at that time

time known. The invention of cannon required a variation in military architecture. The firſt cannons were made of iron bars, forming a concave cylinder, united by rings of copper. The firſt cannon-balls were of ſtone, which required a very large aperture. A cannon was reduced to a ſmaller ſize, by uſing iron for balls inſtead of ſtone; and that deſtructive engine was perfected by making it of caſt metal. To reſiſt its force, baſtions were invented, horn-works, crown-works, half-moons, &c. &c. and military architecture became a ſyſtem, governed by fundamental principles and general rules. But all in vain: it has indeed produced fortifications that have made ſieges horridly bloody; but artillery at the ſame time has been carried to ſuch perfection, and the art of attack ſo improved, that, according to the general opinion, no fortification can be rendered impregnable. The only impregnable defence is, good neighbourhood among weak princes, ready to unite whenever one of them is attacked with ſuperior force. And nothing tends more effectually to promote ſuch union, than conſtant experience that fortifications ought not to be relied on.

With reſpect to naval architecture, the firſt veſſels were beams joined together, and covered with planks, puſhed along with long poles in ſhallow water, and drawn by animals in deep water. To theſe ſucceeded trunks of trees cut hollow, termed by the Greeks MONOXYLES. The next were planks joined together in form of a monoxyle. The thought of imitating a fiſh advanced naval architecture. A prow was conſtructed in imitation of the head, a ſtern with a moveable helm, in imitation

tion of the tail, and oars in imitation of the fins. Sails were at laſt added; which invention was ſo early, that the contriver is unknown. Before the year 1545, ſhips of war in England had no port-holes for guns, as at preſent: they had only a few cannon placed on the upper deck.

When Homer compoſed his poems, at leaſt during the Trojan war, the Greeks had not acquired the art of gelding cattle; they ate the fleſh of bulls and of rams. Kings and princes killed and cooked their victuals: ſpoons, forks, table-cloths, napkins, were unknown. They fed ſitting, the cuſtom of reclining upon beds being afterward copied from Aſia; and, like other ſavages, they were great eaters. At the time mentioned, they had not chimnies, nor candles, nor lamps. Torches are frequently mentioned by Homer, but lamps never: a vaſe was placed upon a tripod, in which was burnt dry wood for giving light. Locks and keys were not common at that time. Bundles were ſecured with ropes intricately combined [a]; and hence the famous Gordian knot. Shoes and ſtockings were not early known among them, nor buttons, nor ſaddles, nor ſtirrups. Plutarch reports, that Gracchus cauſed ſtones to be erected along the high-ways leading from Rome, for the convenience of mounting a horſe; for at that time ſtirrups were unknown, though an obvious invention. Linen for ſhirts was not uſed in Rome for many years after the government became deſpotic. Even ſo late as the eight century, it was not common in Europe.

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[a] Odyſſey, b. 8. l. 483. Pope's tranſlation.

Thales,

Thales, one of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece, about ſix hundred years before Chriſt, invented the following method for meaſuring the height of an Egyptian pyramid. He watched the progreſs of the ſun, till his body and the ſhadow were of the ſame length; and at that inſtant meaſured the ſhadow of the pyramid, which conſequently gave its height. Amaſis, king of Egypt, preſent at the operation, thought it a wonderful effort of genius; and the Greeks admired it highly. Geometry muſt have been in its very cradle at that time. Anaximander, ſome ages before Chriſt, made the firſt map of the earth, ſo far as then known. About the end of the thirteenth century, ſpectacles for aſſiſting the ſight were invented by Alexander Spina, a monk of Piſa. So uſeful an invention cannot be too much extolled. At a period of life when the judgment is in maturity, and reading is of great benefit, the eyes begin to grow dim. One cannot help pitying the condition of bookiſh men before that invention; many of whom muſt have had their ſight greatly impaired, while their appetite for reading was in vigour.

As the origin and progreſs of writing make a capital article in the preſent ſketch, they muſt not be overlooked. To write, or, in other words, to exhibit thoughts to the eye, was early attempted in Egypt by hieroglyphics. But theſe were not confined to Egypt: figures, compoſed of painted feathers, were uſed in Mexico to expreſs ideas; and by ſuch figures Montezuma received intelligence of the Spaniſh invaſion: in Peru, the only arithmetical figures known were knots of various colours, which ſerved to caſt up accounts. The ſecond ſtep

naturally in the art of writing, is, to repreſent each word by a mark, termed a letter, which is the Chineſe way of writing: they have about 11,000 of theſe marks or letters in common uſe; and in matters of ſcience, they employ to the number of 60,000. Our way is far more eaſy and commodious: inſtead of marks or letters for words which are infinite, we repreſent by marks or letters, the articulate ſounds that compoſe words: theſe ſounds exceed not thirty in number; and conſequently the ſame number of marks or letters are ſufficient for writing. This was at once to ſtep from hieroglyphics, the moſt imperfect mode of writing, to letters repreſenting ſounds, the moſt perfect; for there is no probability that the Chineſe mode was ever practiſed in this part of the world. With us, the learning to read is ſo eaſy as to be acquired in childhood; and we are ready for the ſciences as ſoon as the mind is ripe for them: the Chineſe mode, on the contrary, is an unſurmountable obſtruction to knowledge; becauſe it being the work of a life-time to read with eaſe, no time remains for ſtudying the ſciences. Our caſe was in ſome meaſure the ſame at the reſtoration of learning, it required an age to be familiarized with the Greek and Latin tongues; and too little time remained for gathering knowledge out of their books. The Chineſe ſtand upon a more equal footing with reſpect to arts; for theſe may be acquired by imitation or oral inſtruction, without books.

The art of writing with letters repreſenting ſounds, is, of all inventions, the moſt important, and the leaſt obvious. The way of writing in China makes ſo naturally the ſecond ſtep in the progreſs

of

of the art, that our good fortune in ſtumbling upon a way ſo much more perfect cannot be ſufficiently admired, when to it we are indebted for our ſuperiority in literature above the Chineſe. Their way of writing is a fatal obſtruction to ſcience; for it is ſo rivetted by inveterate practice, that the difficulty would not be greater to make them change their language, than their letters. Hieroglyphics were a ſort of writing, ſo miſerably imperfect, as to make every improvement welcome; but as the Chineſe make a tolerable ſhift with their own letters, however cumberſome to thoſe who know better, they never dream of any improvement. Hence it may be averred, with great certainty, that in China, the ſciences, though ſtill in infancy, will for ever continue ſo.

The art of writing was known in Greece when Homer compoſed his two epics; for he gives ſomewhere a hint of it. It was at that time probably in its infancy, and uſed only for recording laws, religious precepts, or other ſhort works. Cyphers, invented in Hindoſtan, were brought into France from Arabia, about the end of the tenth century.

Huſbandry made a progreſs from Egypt to Greece, and from Afric to Italy. Mago, a Carthaginian general, compoſed twenty-eight books upon huſbandry, which were tranſlated into Latin by order of the Roman ſenate. From theſe fine and fertile countries, it made its way to colder and leſs kindly climates. According to that progreſs, agriculture muſt have been practiſed more early in France than in Britain; and yet the Engliſh at preſent make a greater figure in that art than the French, inferiority in ſoil and climate notwithſtanding.

ſtanding. Before huſbandry became an art in the northern parts of Europe, the French nobleſſe had deſerted the country, fond of ſociety in a town-life. Landed gentlemen in England, more rough, and delighting more in hunting and other country amuſements, found leiſure to practiſe agriculture. Skill in that art proceeded from them to their tenants, who now proſecute huſbandry with ſucceſs, though their landlords have generally betaken themſelves to a town-life.

When Cæſar invaded Britain, agriculture was unknown in the inner parts: the inhabitants fed upon milk and fleſh, and were cloathed with ſkins. Hollinſhed, cotemporary with Elizabeth of England, deſcribes the rudeneſs of the preceding generation in the arts of life: "There were very few "chimnies, even in capital towns: the fire was "laid to the wall, and the ſmoke iſſued out at the "roof, or door, or window. The houſes were "wattled and plaiſtered over with clay; and all "the furniture and utenſils were of wood. The "people ſlept on ſtraw pallets, with a log of wood "for a pillow." Henry II. of France, at the marriage of the Ducheſs of Savoy, wore the firſt ſilk ſtockings that were made in France. Queen Elizabeth, the third year of her reign, received in a preſent a pair of black ſilk knit ſtockings; and Dr. Howel reports, that ſhe never wore cloth hoſe any more. Before the conqueſt there was a timber bridge upon the Thames between London and Southwark, which was repaired by King William Rufus, and was burnt by accident in the reign of Henry II. ann. 1176. At that time a ſtone bridge in place of it was projected, but it was not finiſhed till

till the year 1212. The bridge Notre-Dame over the Seine in Paris was firſt of wood. It fell down anno 1499; and as there was not in France a man who would undertake to rebuild it of ſtone, an Italian cordelier was employed, whoſe name was Joconde, the ſame upon whom Sanazarius made the following pun:

Jocundus geminum impoſuit tibi, Sequana, pontem;
Hunc tu jure potes dicere pontificem.

The art of making glaſs was imported from France into England, ann. 674, for the uſe of monaſteries. Glaſs windows in private houſes were rare, even in the twelfth century, and held to be great luxury. King Edward III. invited three cloakmakers of Delft in Holland to ſettle in England. In the former part of the reign of Henry VIII. there did not grow in England cabbage, carrot, turnip, or other edible root; and it has been noted, that even Queen Catherine herſelf could not command a ſallad for dinner, till the King brought over a gardener from the Netherlands. About the ſame time, the artichoke, the apricot, the damaſk roſe, made their firſt appearance in England. Turkeys, carps, and hops, were firſt known there in the year 1524. The currant-ſhrub was brought from the iſland of Zant, ann. 1533, and in the year 1540, cherry-trees from Flanders were firſt planted in Kent. It was in the year 1563 that knives were firſt made in England. Pocket-watches were brought there from Germany, ann. 1577. About the year 1580, coaches were introduced; before which time Queen Elizabeth, on public occaſions, rode behind her

her chamberlain. A ſaw-mill was erected near London, ann. 1633, but afterwards demoliſhed, that it might not deprive the labouring poor of employment. How crude was the ſcience of politics, even in that late age!

People who are ignorant of weights and meaſures fall upon odd ſhifts to ſupply the defect. Howel Dha Prince of Wales, who died in the year 948, was their capital lawgiver. One of his laws is, "If any one kill or ſteal the cat that guards the "Prince's granary, he forfeits a milch ewe with "her lamb; or as much wheat as will cover the "cat, when ſuſpended by the tail, the head touch-"ing the ground. By the ſame lawgiver, a fine of twelve cows is enacted for a rape committed upon a maid, eighteen for a rape upon a matron. If the fact be proved after being denied, the criminal for his falſity pays as many ſhillings as will cover the woman's poſteriors.

The negroes of the kingdom of Ardrah in Guinea have made great advances in arts. Their towns, for the moſt part, are fortified, and connected by great roads, kept in good repair. Deep canals from river to river are commonly filled with canoes, for pleaſure ſome, and many for buſineſs. The vallies are pleaſant, producing wheat, millet, yams, potatoes. lemons, oranges, cocoa-nuts, and dates. The marſhy grounds near the ſea are drained; and ſalt is made by evaporating the ſtagnating water. Salt is carried to the inland countries by the great canal of Ba, where numberleſs canoes are daily ſeen going with ſalt, and returning with gold duſt or other commodities.

In

In all countries where the people are barbarous and illiterate, the progreſs of arts is wofully ſlow. It is vouched by an old French poem, that the virtues of the loadſtone were known in France before ann. 1180. The mariner's compaſs was exhibited at Venice ann. 1260 by Paulus Venetus, as his own invention. John Goya of Amalphi was the firſt who, many years afterward, uſed it in navigation; and alſo paſſed for being the inventor. Though it was uſed in China for navigation long before it was known in Europe, yet to this day it is not ſo perfect as in Europe. Inſtead of ſuſpending it in order to make it act freely, it is placed upon a bed of ſand, by which every motion of the ſhip diſturbs its operation. Hand-mills, termed querns, were early uſed for grinding corn; and when corn came to be raiſed in greater quantity, horſe-mills ſucceeded. Water-mills for grinding corn are deſcribed by Vitruvius [b]. Wind-mills were known in Greece and in Arabia as early as the ſeventh century; and yet no mention is made of them in Italy till the fourteenth century. That they were not known in England in the reign of Henry VIII. appears from a houſehold book of an Earl of Northumberland, cotemporary with that King, ſtating an allowance for three mill-horſes, "two to draw in the mill, "and one to carry ſtuff to the mill and fro." Water-mills for corn muſt in England have been of a later date. The ancients had mirror-glaſſes, and employed glaſs to imitate cryſtal vaſes and goblets; yet they never thought of uſing it in windows. In the thirteenth century, the Venetians were the only

[b] L. 10. cap. 10.

people

people who had the art of making cryſtal glaſs for mirrors. A clock that ſtrikes the hours was unknown in Europe till the end of the twelfth century. And hence the cuſtom of employing men to proclaim the hours during night; which to this day continues in Germany, Flanders, and England. Galileo was the firſt who conceived an idea that a pendulum might be uſeful for meaſuring time; and Hughens was the firſt who put the idea in execution, by making a pendulum clock. Hook, in the year 1660, invented a ſpiral ſpring for a watch, though a watch was far from being a new invention. Paper was made no earlier than the fourteenth century; and the invention of printing was a century later. Silk manufactures were long eſtabliſhed in Greece before ſilk-worms were introduced there. The manufacturers were provided with raw ſilk from Perſia: but that commerce being frequently interrupted by war, two monks, in the reign of Juſtinian, brought eggs of the ſilk-worm from Hindoſtan, and taught their countrymen the method of managing them. The art of reading made a very ſlow progreſs. To encourage that art in England, the capital puniſhment for murder was remitted if the criminal could but read, which in law-language is termed benefit of clergy. One would imagine that the art muſt have made a very rapid progreſs when ſo greatly favoured: but there is a ſignal proof of the contrary; for ſo ſmall an edition of the Bible as ſix hundred copies, tranſlated into Engliſh in the reign of Henry VIII. was not wholly ſold off in three years. The people of England muſt have been profoundly ignorant in Queen Elizabeth's time, when a forged clauſe added

ded to the twentieth article of the Engliſh creed paſſed unnoticed till about forty years ago *.

The diſcoveries of the Portugueſe in the weſt coaſt of Africa, is a remarkable inſtance of the ſlow progreſs of arts. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, they were totally ignorant of that coaſt beyond Cape Non, 28 deg. north latitude. In 1410 the celebrated Prince Henry of Portugal fitted out a fleet for diſcoveries, which proceeded along the coaſt to Cape Bojadore in 26 deg.; but had not courage to double it. In 1418 Triſtan Vaz diſcovered the iſland Porto Santo; and the year after the iſland Madeira was diſcovered. In 1439 a Portugueſe captain doubled Cape Bojadore; and the next year the Portugueſe reached Cape Blanco, lat. 20 deg. In 1446 Nuna Triſtan doubled Cape Verd, lat. 14° 40′. In 1448 Don Gonzallo Vallo took poſſeſſion of the Azores. In 1449 the iſlands of Cape Verd were diſcovered for Don Henry. In 1471 Pedro d'Eſcovar diſcovered the iſland St. Thomas and Prince's iſland. In 1484 Diego Cam diſcovered the kingdom of Congo. In 1486 Bar-

* In the act 13th Elizabeth anno 1571, confirming the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, theſe articles are not engroſſed, but referred to as compriſed in a printed book, intituled, Articles agreed to by the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London 1562. The forged clauſe is, "The church has power to decree "rites and ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of faith." In the articles referred to, that clauſe is not to be found, nor the ſlighteſt hint of any authority with reſpect to matters of faith. In the ſame year 1571, the articles were printed both in Latin and Engliſh, preciſely as in the year 1562. But ſoon after came out ſpurious editions, in which the ſaid clauſe was foiſted into the twentieth article, and continues ſo to this day. A forgery ſo impudent would not paſs at preſent; and its ſucceſs ſhows great ignorance in the people of England at that period.

tholomew Diaz, employed by John II. of Portugal, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, which he called Cabo Tormentoſo, from the tempeſtuous weather he found in the paſſage.

The exertion of national ſpirit upon any particular art, promotes activity to proſecute other arts. The Romans, by conſtant ſtudy, came to excel in the art of war, which led them naturally to improve upon other arts. Having, in the progreſs of ſociety, acquired ſome degree of taſte and poliſh, a talent for writing broke forth. Nevius compoſed in verſe ſeven books of the Punic war; beſide comedies, replete with bitter raillery againſt the nobility [c]. Ennius wrote annals, and an epic poem [d]. Lucius Andronicus was the father of dramatic poetry in Rome [e]. Pacuvius wrote tragedies [f]. Plautus and Terence wrote comedies. Lucilius compoſed ſatire, which Cicero eſteems to be ſlight, and void of erudition [g]. Fabius Pictor, Cincius Alimentus, Piſo Frugi, Valerius Antias, and Cato, were rather annaliſts than hiſtorians, confining themſelves to naked facts, ranged in order of time. The genius of the Romans for the fine arts was much inflamed by Greek learning, when free intercourſe between the two nations was opened. Many of thoſe who made the greateſt figure in the Roman ſtate, commenced authors, Cæſar, Cicero, &c. Sylla compoſed memoirs of his own tranſactions, a work much eſteemed even in the days of Plutarch.

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c. Titus Livius, lib. 7. c. 2, d Quintilian, lib. 10. c. 17.
e Cicero de oratore, lib. 2. N. 72.
f Ibid. lib, 2. N. 193.
g De finibus, lib. 1. No. 7.

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The progreſs of art ſeldom fails to be rapid, when a people happen to be rouſed out of a torpid ſtate by ſome fortunate change of circumſtances: proſperity contraſted with former abaſement, gives to the mind a ſpring, which is vigorously exerted in every new purſuit. The Athenians made but a mean figure under the tyranny of Piſiſtratus; but upon regaining freedom and independence, they were converted into heroes. Miletus, a Greek city of Ionia, being deſtroyed by the King of Perſia, and the inhabitants made ſlaves; the Athenians, deeply affected with the miſery of their brethren, boldly attacked that king in his own dominions, and burnt the city of Sardis. In leſs than ten years after, they gained a ſignal victory at Marathon; and under Themiſtocles, made head againſt that prodigious army with which Xerxes threatened utter ruin to Greece. Such proſperity produced its uſual effect: arts flouriſhed with arms, and Athens became the chief theatre for ſciences as well as for fine arts. The reign of Auguſtus Cæſar, which put an end to the rancour of civil war, and reſtored peace to Rome with the comforts of ſociety, proved an auſpicious æra for literature; and produced a cloud of Latin hiſtorians, poets, and philoſophers, to whom the moderns are indebted for their taſte and talents. One who makes a figure rouſes emulation in all: one catches fire from another, and the national ſpirit is every where triumphant: claſſical works are compoſed, and uſeful diſcoveries made in every art and ſcience. This fairly accounts for the following obſervation of Velleius Paterculus [h], that eminent men generally

[h] Hiſtoria Romana, lib. 1. in fine.

appear in the ſame period of time, "One age," ſays he, "produced Eſchylus, Sophocles, and "Euripides, who advanced tragedy to a great "height. In another age the old comedy flouriſh-"ed under Eupolis, Cratinus, and Ariſtophanes; "and the new was invented by Menander, and "his cotemporaries Diphilus and Philemon, whoſe "compoſitions are ſo perfect that they left to poſte-"rity no hope of rivalſhip. The philoſophic ſages "of the Socratic ſchool appeared all about the time "of Plato and Ariſtotle. And as to rhetoric, few "excelled in that art before Iſocrates, and as few "after the ſecond deſcent of his ſcholars." The hiſtorian applies the ſame obſervation to the Romans, and extends it even to grammarians, painters, ſtatuaries, and ſculptors. With regard to Rome, it is true, that the Roman government under Auguſtus was in effect deſpotic: but deſpotiſm, in that ſingle inſtance, made no obſtruction to literature, it having been the politic of that reign to hide power as much as poſſible. A ſimilar revolution happened in Tuſcany about three centuries ago. That country having been divided into a number of ſmall republics, the people, excited by mutual hatred between ſmall nations in cloſe neighbourhood, became ferocious and bloody, flaming with revenge for the ſlighteſt offence. Theſe republics being united under the Great Duke of Tuſcany, enjoyed the ſweets of peace in a mild government. That comfortable revolution, which made the deeper impreſſion by a retroſpect to recent calamities, rouſed the national ſpirit, and produced ardent application to arts and literature. The reſtoration of the royal family in England, which put

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an end to a cruel and envenomed civil war, promoted improvements of every kind: arts and induſtry made a rapid progreſs among the people, though left to themſelves by a weak and fluctuating adminiſtration. Had the nation, upon that favourable turn of fortune, been bleſſed with a ſucceſſion of able and virtuous princes, to what a height might not arts and ſciences have been carried! In Scotland, a favourable period for improvements was the reign of the firſt Robert, after ſhaking off the Engliſh yoke: but the domineering ſpirit of the feudal ſyſtem rendered abortive every attempt. The reſtoration of the royal family, mentioned above, animated the legiſlature of Scotland to promote manufactures of various kinds: but in vain; for the union of the two crowns had introduced deſpotiſm into Scotland, which ſunk the genius of the people, and rendered them heartleſs and indolent. Liberty, indeed, and many other advantages, were procured to them by the union of the two kingdoms; but theſe ſalutary effects were long ſuſpended by mutual enmity, ſuch as commonly ſubſiſts between neighbouring nations. Enmity wore out gradually, and the eyes of the Scots were opened to the advantages of their preſent condition: the national ſpirit was rouſed to emulate and to excel: talents were exerted, hitherto latent; and Scotland at preſent makes a figure in arts and ſciences, above what it ever made while an independent kingdom *.

Another

* In Scotland, an innocent bankrupt impriſoned for debt, obtains liberty by a proceſs termed Ceſſio bonorum. From the year 1694 to 1744

Another cauſe of activity and animation, is the being engaged in ſome important action of doubtful event, a ſtruggle for liberty, the reſiſting a potent invader, or the like. Greece, divided into ſmall ſtates frequently at war with each other, advanced literature and the fine arts to unrivalled perfection. The Corſicans, while engaged in a perilous war for defence of their liberties, exerted a vigorous national ſpirit: they founded an univerſity for arts and ſciences, a public library, and a public bank. After a long ſtupor during the dark ages of Chriſtianity, arts and literature revived among the turbulent ſtates of Italy. The royal ſociety in London, and the academy of ſciences in Paris, were both of them inſtituted after civil wars that had animated the people, and roufed their activity.

An uſeful art is ſeldom loſt, becauſe it is in conſtant practice. And yet, though many uſeful arts were in perfection during the reign of Auguſtus Cæſar, it is amazing how ignorant and ſtupid men became, after the Roman empire was ſhattered by northern barbarians: they degenerated into ſavages. So ignorant were the Spaniſh Chriſtians during the eighth and ninth centuries, that Alphonſus the Great, King of Leon, was reduced to the neceſſity of employing Mahometan preceptors for educating his eldeſt ſon. Even Charlemagne could not ſign

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1744 there were but twenty-four proceſſes of that kind; which ſhows how languidly trade was carried on while the people remained ſtill ignorant of their advantages by the union. From that time to the year 1771 there have been thrice that number every year, taking one year with another; an evident proof of the late rapid progreſs of commerce in Scotland. Every one is roufed to venture his ſmall ſtock, though every one cannot be ſucceſsful.

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his name: nor was he ſingular in that reſpect, being kept in countenance by ſeveral neighbouring princes.

As the progreſs of arts and ſciences toward perfection is greatly promoted by emulation, nothing is more fatal to an art or ſcience than to remove that ſpur, as where ſome extraordinary genius appears who ſoars above rivalſhip. Mathematics ſeem to be declining in Britain; the great Newton having ſurpaſſed all the ancients, has not left to the moderns even the fainteſt hope of equalling him; and what man will enter the liſts who deſpairs of victory?

In early times, the inventors of uſeful arts were remembered with fervent gratitude. Their hiſtory became fabulous by the many incredible exploits that were attributed to them. Diodorus Siculus mentions the Egyptian tradition of Oſiris, that with a numerous army he traverſed every inhabited part of the globe, in order to teach men the culture of wheat and of the vine. Beſide the impracticability of ſupporting a numerous army where huſbandry is unknown, no army could enable Oſiris to introduce wheat or wine among ſtupid ſavages who live by hunting and fiſhing, which probably was the caſe, in that early period, of all the nations he viſited.

In a country thinly peopled, where even neceſſary arts want hands, it is common to ſee one perſon exerciſing more arts than one: in ſeveral parts of Scotland, one man ſerves as a phyſician, ſurgeon, and apothecary. In a very populous country, even ſimple arts are ſplit into parts, and each part has an artiſt appropriated to it. In the large towns of ancient Egypt, a phyſician was confined to a ſingle diſeaſe,

diſeaſe. In mechanic arts that method is excellent. As a hand confined to a ſingle operation becomes both expert and expeditious, a mechanic art is perfected by having its different operations diſtributed among the greateſt number of hands: many hands are employ'd in making a watch; and a ſtill greater number in manufacturing a web of woollen cloth. Various arts or operations carried on by the ſame man, envigorate his mind, becauſe they exerciſe different faculties; and as he cannot be equally expert in every art or operation, he is frequently reduced to ſupply want of ſkill by thought and invention. Conſtant application, on the contrary, to a ſingle operation, confines the mind to a ſingle object, and excludes all thought and invention: in ſuch a train of life, the operator becomes dull and ſtupid, like a beaſt of burden. The difference is viſible in the manners of the people: in a country where, from want of hands, ſeveral occupations muſt be carried on by the ſame perſon, the people are knowing and converſable: in a populous country where manufactures flouriſh, they are ignorant and unſociable. The ſame effect is equally viſible in countries where an art or manufacture is confined to a certain claſs of men. It is viſible in Hindoſtan, where the people are divided into caſts, which never mix even by marriage, and where every man follows his father's trade. The Dutch lint-boors are a ſimilar inſtance: the ſame families carry on the trade from generation to generation; and are accordingly ignorant and brutiſh even beyond other Dutch peaſants. The inhabitants of Buckhaven, a ſeaport in the county of Fife, were originally a colony of foreigners, invited hither to teach

teach our people the art of fiſhing. They continue fiſhers to this day, marry among themſelves, have little intercourſe with their neighbours, and are dull and ſtupid to a proverb.

## SECTION II.

### Progreſs of TASTE and of the FINE ARTS.

THE ſenſe by which we perceive right and wrong in actions, is termed the moral ſenſe: the ſenſe by which we perceive beauty and deformity in objects, is termed taſte. Perfection in the moral ſenſe conſiſts in perceiving the minuteſt differences of right and wrong: perfection in taſte conſiſts in perceiving the minuteſt differences of beauty and deformity; and ſuch perfection is termed delicacy of taſte [a].

The moral ſenſe is born with us; and ſo is taſte: yet both of them require much cultivation. Among ſavages, the moral ſenſe is faint and obſcure; and taſte ſtill more ſo *. Even in the moſt enlightened ages, it requires in a judge both education and experience to perceive accurately the various modifications of right and wrong: and to acquire delicacy of taſte, a man muſt grow old in examining beauties and deformities. In Rome, abounding with productions of the fine arts, an illiterate ſhopkeeper is a more correct judge of ſtatues, of pictures, and of

[a] Elements of Criticiſm, vol. 1. p. 111. edit. 4.

* Some Iroquois, after ſeeing all the beauties of Paris, admired nothing but the ſtreet De la Houchette, where they found a conſtant ſupply of eatables.

buildings, than the beſt-educated citizen of London [b]. Thus taſte goes hand in hand with the moral ſenſe in their progreſs toward maturity, and they ripen equally by the ſame ſort of culture. Want, a barren ſoil, cramps the growth of both: ſenſuality, a ſoil too fat, corrupts both: the middle ſtate, equally diſtant from diſpiriting poverty and luxurious ſenſuality, is the ſoil in which both of them flouriſh.

As the fine arts are intimately connected with taſte, it is impracticable, in tracing their progreſs, to ſeparate them by accurate limits. I join, therefore, the progreſs of the fine arts to that of taſte, where the former depends entirely on the latter; and I handle ſeparately the progreſs of the fine arts, where that progreſs is influenced by other circumſtances beſide taſte.

During the infancy of taſte, imagination is ſuffered to roam, as in ſleep, without control. Wonder is the paſſion of ſavages and of ruſtics; to raiſe which, nothing is neceſſary but to invent giants and magicians, fairy-land and inchantment. The earlieſt exploits recorded of warlike nations, are giants mowing down whole armies, and little men overcoming giants; witneſs Joannes Magnus, Torfeus, and other Scandinavian writers. Hence the abſurd romances that delighted the world for ages; which are now fallen into contempt every where. Madame de la Fayette led the way to novels in the preſent mode. She was the firſt who introduced ſentiments inſtead of wonderful adventures, and

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[b] Elements of Criticiſm, vol. 1. chap. 25.

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amiable men inſtead of bloody heroes. In ſubſtituting diſtreſſes to prodigies, ſhe made a diſcovery that perſons of taſte and feeling are more attached by compaſſion than by wonder.

When gigantic fictions were baniſhed, ſome remaining taſte for the wonderful encouraged gigantic ſimiles, metaphors, and allegories. The Song of Solomon, and many other Aſiatic compoſitions, afford examples without end of ſuch figures; which are commonly attributed to force of imagination in a warm climate. But a more extenſive view will ſhow this to be a miſtake. In every climate, hot and cold, the figurative ſtyle is carried to extravagance, during a certain period in the progreſs of writing; a ſtyle that is reliſhed by all at firſt, and continues to delight many till it yields to a taſte poliſhed by long experience. Even in the bitter cold country of Iceland, we are at no loſs for examples. A rain-bow is termed Bridge of the Gods: gold, Tears of Frya: the earth is termed daughter of Night, the veſſel that floats upon Ages; and herbs and plants are her hair, or her fleece. Ice is termed the Great-Bridge: a ſhip, Horſe of the Floods. Many authors fooliſhly conjecture, that the Hurons, and ſome other neighbouring nations, are of Aſiatic extraction; becauſe, like the Aſiatics, their diſcourſe is highly figurative.

The national progreſs of morality is ſlow: the national progreſs of taſte is ſtill ſlower. In proportion as a nation poliſhes, and improves in the arts of peace, taſte ripens. The Chineſe had long enjoyed a regular ſyſtem of government, while the Europeans were comparatively in a chaos; and accordingly literary compoſitions in China were

brought to perfection more early than in Europe. In their poetry they indulge no incredible fables, like thoſe of Arioſto or the Arabian Tales; but commonly ſelect ſuch as afford a good moral. Their novels, like thoſe of the moſt approved kind among us, treat of misfortunes unforeſeen, unexpected good luck, and perſons finding out their real parents. The Orphan of China, compoſed in the fourteenth century, ſurpaſſes far any European play in that early period. But good writing has made a more rapid progreſs with us; not from ſuperiority of talents, but from the great labour the Chineſe muſt undergo, in learning to read and write their own language. The Chineſe tragedy is, indeed, languid, and not ſufficiently intereſting; which Voltaire aſcribes to want of genius. With better reaſon he might have aſcribed it to the nature of their government, ſo well contrived for preſerving peace and order, as to afford few examples of ſurpriſing events, and little opportunity for exerting manly talents.

A nation cannot acquire a taſte for ridicule till it emerge out of the ſavage ſtate. Ridicule, however, is too rough for refined manners: Cicero diſcovers in Plautus a happy talent for ridicule, and peculiar delicacy of wit; but Horace, who figured in the court of Auguſtus, eminent for delicacy of taſte, declares againſt the low roughneſs of that author's raillery [c]. The high burleſque ſtyle prevails commonly in the period between barbarity and politeneſs, in which a taſte ſomewhat improved diſcovers the ridicule of former manners. Rabelais in France

[c] Elements of Criticiſm, chap. 2. part. 2.

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and Butler in England are illuſtrious examples. Dr. Swift is our lateſt burleſque writer, and probably will be the laſt.

Emulation among a multitude of ſmall ſtates in Greece, ripened taſte, and promoted the fine arts. Taſte, rouſed by emulation, refines gradually; and is advanced toward perfection by a diligent ſtudy of beautiful productions. Rome was indebted to Greece for that delicacy of taſte which ſhone during the reign of Auguſtus, eſpecially in literary compoſitions. But taſte could not long flouriſh in a deſpotic government: ſo low had the Roman taſte fallen in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, that nothing would pleaſe him but to ſuppreſs Homer, and in his place to inſtall a ſilly Greek poet, named Antimachus.

The northern barbarians who deſolated the Roman empire, and revived in ſome meaſure the ſavage ſtate, occaſioned a woful decay of taſte. Pope Gregory VII. anno 1080, preſented to the Emperor Rudolph a crown of gold with the following inſcription: Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolpho. Miſerably low muſt taſte have been in that period, when a childiſh play of words was reliſhed as a proper decoration for a ſerious ſolemnity. The famous golden bull of Germany, digeſted anno 1356 by Bartolus, a celebrated lawyer, and intended for a maſter-piece of compoſition, is replete with wild conceptions, without the leaſt regard to truth, propriety, or connection. It begins with an apoſtrophe to Pride, to Satan, to Choler, and to Luxury: it aſſerts, that there muſt be ſeven electors for oppoſing the ſeven mortal ſins: The fall of the angels, terreſtrial paradiſe, Pompey, and Cæſar, are introduced;

duced; and it is ſaid, that Germany is founded on the Trinity, and on the three theologieal virtues. What can be more puerile! A ſermon preached by the Biſhop of Bitonto, at the opening of the council of Trent, excels in that manner of compoſition. He proves, that a council is neceſſary; becauſe ſeveral councils have extirpated hereſy, and depoſed kings and emperors; becauſe the poets aſſemble councils of the gods; becauſe Moſes writes, that at the creation of man, and at confounding the language of the giants, God acted in the manner of a council; becauſe religion has three heads, doctrine, ſacraments, and charity; and that theſe three are termed a council. He exhorts the members of the council to ſtrict unity, like the heroes in the Trojan horſe. He aſſerts, that the gates of paradiſe and of the council are the ſame; that the holy fathers ſhould ſprinkle their dry hearts with the living water that flowed from it; and that otherwiſe the Holy Ghoſt would open their mouths like thoſe of Balaam and Caiphas[d]. James I. of Britain dedicates his declaration againſt Voriſtus to our Saviour, in the following words: "To the honour of our "Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the eternal Son "of the eternal Father, the only Theanthropos, "mediator and reconciler of mankind; in ſign of "thankfulneſs, his moſt humble and obliged ſervant, James, by the grace of God, King of "Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of "the Faith, doth dedicate and conſecrate this his "declaration." Funeral orations were ſome time

[d] Father Paul's Hiſtory of Trent, lib. 1.

ago

ago in fashion. Regnard, who was in Stockholm about the year 1680, heard a funeral oration at the burial of a servant-maid. The priest, after mentioning her parents and the place of her birth, praised her as an excellent cook, and enlarged upon every ragout that she made in perfection. She had but one fault, he said, which was the salting her dishes too much; but that she showed thereby her prudence, of which salt is the symbol; a stroke of wit that probably was admired by the whole audience. Funeral orations are out of fashion: the futility of a trite panegyric purchased with money, and indecent flattery in circumstances that require sincerity and truth, could not long stand against improved taste. The yearly feast of the ass that carried the mother of God into Egypt, was a most ridiculous farce, highly relished in the dark ages of Christianity. See the description of that feast in Voltaire's General History [e].

The public amusements of our forefathers show the grossness of their taste after they were reduced to barbarism by the Goths and Vandals. The plays termed Mysteries, because they were borrowed from the Scriptures, indicate gross manners as well as infantine taste; and yet in France, not farther back than three or four centuries, these Mysteries were such favourites as constantly to make a part at every public festival. The reformation of religion, which roused a spirit of enquiry, banished that amusement, as not only low but indecent. A sort of plays succeeded, termed Moralities; less indecent indeed, but scarce preferable in point of composition. These Moralities have also been long

[e] Chap. 78.

banished,

baniſhed, except in Spain, where they ſtill continue in vigour. The devil is commonly the hero: nor do the Spaniards make any difficulty, even in their more regular plays, to introduce ſupernatural and allegorical beings upon the ſame ſtage with men and women. The Cardinal Colonna carried into Spain a beautiful buſt of the Emperor Caligula. In the war about the ſucceſſion of Spain, after the death of its King Charles II. Lord Gallway, upon a painful ſearch, found that buſt ſerving as a weight to a church-clock.

In the days of our barbarous forefathers, who were governed by pride as well as by hatred, princes and men of rank entertained a changeling, diſtinguiſhed by the name of fool; who, being the butt of their ſilly jokes, flattered their vanity. Such amuſement, not leſs groſs than inhuman, could not ſhow its face even in the dawn of taſte: it was rendered leſs inſipid and leſs inhuman, by entertaining one of real wit; who, under diſguiſe of a fool, was indulged in the moſt ſatirical truths. Upon a farther purification of taſte, it was diſcovered, that to draw amuſement from folly, real or pretended, is below the dignity of human nature. More refined amuſements were invented, ſuch as balls, public ſpectacles, gaming, and ſociety with women. Paraſites, deſcribed by Plautus and Terence, were of ſuch a rank as to be permitted to dine with gentlemen; and yet were ſo deſpicable as to be the butt of every man's joke. They were placed at the lower end of the table; and the gueſts diverted themſelves with daubing their faces, and even kicking and cuffing them; all which was patiently borne, for the ſake of a plentiful meal. They

They reſembled the fools and clowns of later times, being equally intended to be laughed at: but the paraſite profeſſion ſhows groſſer manners; it being leſs indelicate to make game of fools, who were men of the loweſt rank, than of paraſites, who were gentlemen by birth, tho' not by behaviour.

Pride, which introduced fools, brought dwarfs alſo into faſhion. In Italy, fondneſs for dwarfs was carried to extravagance. "Being at Rome in "the year 1566," ſays a French writer, "I was "invited by Cardinal Vitelli to a feaſt, where we "were ſerved by no fewer than thirty-four dwarfs, "moſt of them horridly diſtorted." Was not the taſte of that Cardinal horridly diſtorted? The ſame author adds, that Francis I. and Henry II. Kings of France, had many dwarfs: one named Great John was the leaſt ever had been ſeen, if it was not a dwarf at Milan, who was carried about in a cage.

In the eighth and ninth centuries, no ſort of commerce was known in Europe but what was carried on in markets and fairs. Artificers and manufacturers were diſperſed through the country, and ſo were monaſteries; the towns being inhabited by none but clergymen, and thoſe who immediately depended on them. The nobility lived on their eſtates, unleſs when they followed the court. The low people were not at liberty to quit the place of their birth: the Villain was annexed to the eſtate, and the Slave, to the perſon, of his lord. Slavery foſtered rough manners: and there could be no improvement in manners, nor in taſte, where there was no ſociety. Of all the polite nations in Europe, the Engliſh were the lateſt of taking to a town-life; and their progreſs in taſte and manners

was proportionally ſlow. By no audience in the neighbouring kingdoms, would the following paſſage in one of Dryden's plays have been endured. "Jack Sauce! if I ſay it is a tragedy, it ſhall be a "tragedy in ſpite of you: teach your grandam "how to piſs." Theſe plays are full of ſuch coarſe ſtuff, and yet continued favourites down to the Revolution. For a long time after the revival of arts and ſciences, Lucan was ranked above Virgil by every critic. Ben Johnſon, and even Beaumont and Fletcher, were preferred before Shakeſpeare *; and the ſublime genius of Milton made little impreſſion for more than half a century after Paradiſe Loſt was publiſhed. We have Dryden's authority that taſte in his time was conſiderably refined:

"They who have beſt ſucceeded on the ſtage,
"Have ſtill conform'd their genius to their age.
"Thus Johnſon did mechanic humour ſhow,
"When men were dull, and converſation low.
"Then comedy was faultleſs, but 'twas coarſe:
"Cobb's Tankard was a jeſt, and Otter's Horſe.
"Fame then was cheap, and the firſt comer ſped:
"And they have kept it ſince by being dead.
"But were they now to write, when critics weigh
"Each line and ev'ry word throughout a play,
"None of them, no not Johnſon in his height,
"Could paſs without allowing grains for weight.
"If love and honour now are higher rais'd,
"It's not the poet, but the age is prais'd:

* Yet Shakeſpeare ſpent his life in writing for ſuch people. Unhappy Shakeſpeare! who, like his countryman Roger Bacon, lived in an age unworthy of him.

"Wit's

" Wit's now arriv'd to a more high degree,
" Our native language more refin'd and free.
" Our ladies and our men now ſpeak more wit
" In converſation, than thoſe poets writ."

The high opinion Dryden had of himſelf and of his age breaks out in every line. Johnſon probably had the ſame opinion of himſelf and of his age: the preſent age is not exempted from that bias; nor will the next age be, tho' probably maturity in taſte will be ſtill later. We humble ourſelves before the antients who are far removed from us; but not to ſoar above our immediate predeceſſors, would be a ſad mortification. Many ſcenes in Dryden's plays, if not lower than Cobb's Tankard or Otter's Horſe, are more out of place. In the Wild Gallant, the hero is a wretch conſtantly employ'd, not only in cheating his creditors, but in cheating his miſtreſs, a lady of high rank and fortune. And how abſurd is the ſcene, where he convinces the father of his miſtreſs that the devil had got him with child! The character of Sir Martin Marall is below contempt. The ſcenes in the ſame play, of a bawd inſtructing one of her novices how to behave to her gallants, and of the novice practiſing her leſſons, are perhaps not lower than Cobb's Tankard or Otter's Horſe, but ſurely they are leſs innocent.

Portugal was riſing in power and ſplendor when Camoens wrote the Luſiad; and with reſpect to the muſic of verſe, it has merit. The author however, is far from ſhining in point of taſte. He makes a ſtrange jumble of Heathen and Chriſtian Deities. " Cama," obſerves Voltaire, " in a " ſtorm, addreſſes himſelf to Chriſt, but it is Ve-

" nus who comes to his relief." Voltaire's obſervation is but too well founded. In the firſt book, Jove ſummons a council of the Gods, which is deſcribed at great length, for no earthly purpoſe but to ſhow, that he favoured the Portugueſe. Bacchus, on the other hand, declares againſt them upon the following account: That he himſelf had gained immortal glory, as conqueror of the Indies; which would be eclipſed, if the Indies ſhould be conquered a ſecond time by the Portugueſe. A Mooriſh commander having received Gama with ſmiles, but with hatred in his heart, the poet brings down Bacchus from heaven, to confirm the Moor in his wicked purpoſes, which would have been perpetrated, had not Venus interpoſed in Gama's behalf. In the ſecond canto, Bacchus feigns himſelf to be a Chriſtian, in order to deceive the Portugueſe; but Venus implores her father Jupiter to protect them. And yet, after all, I am loth to condemn an early writer for introducing Heathen Deities, as actors in a real hiſtory, when in the age of Lewis XIV. celebrated for refinement of taſte, we find French writers, Boileau in particular, guilty ſometimes of the ſame abſurdity [f].

Though taſte in France is more correct than in any other nation, it will bear ſtill ſome purification. The ſcene of a clyſter-pipe in Moliere, is too low even for a farce; and yet to this day it is acted, with a few ſoftenings, before the moſt polite audience in Europe.

In

[f] Elements of Criticiſm, chap. 22.

In Elements of Criticiſm [g], ſeveral cauſes are mentioned that may retard taſte in its progreſs toward maturity, and that ſtill more effectually may give it a retrograde motion when it is in maturity. There are many biaſſes, both natural and acquired, that tend to miſlead perſons, even of the beſt taſte. Of the latter, inſtances are without number. I ſelect one or two, to ſhow what influence even the ſlighteſt circumſtances have on taſte. The only tree beautiful at all ſeaſons is the holly: in winter, its deep and ſhining green, intitles it to be the queen of the grove: in ſummer, this colour completes the harmonious mixture of ſhades ſo pleaſing in that ſeaſon! Mrs. D——, is lively and ſociable. She, in particular, is eminent above moſt of her ſex, for a correct taſte, diſplayed not only within doors, but in the garden and in the field. Having become miſtreſs of a great houſe by matrimony, the moſt honourable of all titles, a group of tall hollies, which had long been ſuffered to obſcure a capital room, ſoon attracted her eye. She took an averſion to a holly, and was not at eaſe till the group was extirpated. Such a bias is perfectly harmleſs. What follows is not altogether ſo excuſeable. The Oxonians diſliked the great Newton, becauſe he was educated at Cambridge; and they favoured every book writ againſt him. That bias, I hope, has not come down to the preſent time.

Refinement of taſte in a nation, is always accompanied with refinement of manners: people accuſtomed to behold order and elegance in public buildings

[g] Chap. 25.

buildings and public gardens acquire urbanity in private. But it is irkſome to trudge long in a beaten track, familiar to all the world; and, therefore, leaving what is ſaid above, like a ſtatue curtailed of legs and arms, I haſten to the hiſtory of the fine arts.

Uſeful arts, paved the way to fine arts. Men upon whom the former had beſtowed every convenience, turned their thoughts to the latter. Beauty was ſtudied in objects of ſight; and men of taſte attached themſelves to the fine arts, which multiplied their enjoyments and improved their benevolence. Sculpture and painting made an early figure in Greece; which afforded plenty of beautiful originals to be copied in theſe imitative arts. Statuary, a more ſimple imitation than painting, was ſooner brought to perfection: the ſtatue of Jupiter by Phidias, and of Juno by Polycletes, though the admiration of all the world, were executed long before the art of light and ſhade was known. Apollodorus and Zeuxis his diſciple, who flouriſhed in the fifteenth Olympiad, were the firſt who figured in that art. Another cauſe concurred to advance ſtatuary before painting in Greece, viz. a great demand for ſtatues of their Gods. Architecture, as a fine art, made a ſlower progreſs. Proportions, upon which its elegance chiefly depends, cannot be accurately aſcertained, but by an infinity of trials in great buildings: a model cannot be relied on; for a large and a ſmall building, even of the ſame form, require different proportions. Gardening, however, made a ſtill ſlower progreſs than architecture: the palace of Alcinoous, in the ſeventh book of the Odyſſey,

is

is grand, and highly ornamented; but his garden is no better, than what we term a kitchen-garden.

The ancient churches in this iſland cannot be our own invention, being unfit for a cold climate. The vaſt ſpace they occupy, quantity of ſtone, and gloomineſs by excluding the ſun, afford a refreſhing coolneſs, and fit them for a hot climate only. It is highly probable, that they have been copied from the moſques in the ſouth of Spain, erected there by the Saracens. Spain, when poſſeſſed by that people, was the centre of arts and ſciences, and led the faſhion in every thing beautiful and magnificent.

From the fine arts mentioned, we proceed to literature. It is agreed, among all antiquaries, that the firſt writings were in verſe, and that writing in proſe was of a much later date. The firſt Greek who wrote in proſe was, Pherecides Syrus: the firſt Roman was, Appius Cæcus, who compoſed a declamation againſt Pyrrhus. The four books of the Chatah Bhade, which is the ſacred book of Hindoſtan, are compoſed in verſe ſtanzas; and the Arabian compoſitions in proſe followed long after thoſe in verſe. To account for that ſingular fact, many learned poets have been employed; but without ſucceſs. By ſome it has been urged, that as memory is the only record of events, where writing is unknown, hiſtory originally was compoſed in verſe for the ſake of memory. This is not ſatisfactory. To undertake the painful taſk of compoſing in verſe merely for the ſake of memory, would require more foreſight, than ever was exerted by a barbarian; not to mention that other means were

were uſed for preſerving the memory of remarkable events, a heap of ſtones, a pillar, or other object that catches the eye. The account given by Longinus is more ingenious. In a fragment of his treatiſe on verſe, the only part that remains, he obſerves, "that meaſure or verſe belongs to poetry, "becauſe poetry repreſents the various paſſions with "their language: for which reaſon the ancients, "in their ordinary diſcourſe, delivered their "thoughts in verſe, rather than in proſe." Longinus thought, that anciently men were more expoſed to accidents and dangers, than when they were protected by good government and by fortified cities. But he ſeems not to have adverted, that fear and grief, inſpired by dangers and misfortunes, are better ſuited to humble proſe than to elevated verſe. I add, that however natural poetical diction may be, when one is animated with any vivid paſſion, it is not ſuppoſeable that the ancients never wrote nor ſpoke, but when excited by paſſion. Their hiſtory, their laws, their covenants, were certainly not compoſed in that tone of mind.

An important article in the progreſs of the fine arts, which writers have not ſufficiently attended to, will, if I miſtake not, explain this myſtery. The article is the profeſſion of a bard, which ſprung up in early times, before writing was known, and died away gradually, as writing turned more and more common. The curioſity of man is great with reſpect to the tranſactions of his own ſpecies; and, when ſuch tranſactions are deſcribed in verſe, accompanied with muſic, the performance is enchanting. An ear, a voice, ſkill in inſtrumental muſic,

muſic, and, above all, a poetical genius, are requiſite to excel in that complicated art. As ſuch talents are rare, the few that poſſeſſed them were highly eſteemed, and hence the profeſſion of a bard; which beſide natural talents, required more culture and exerciſe, than any other known art. Bards were capital perſons at every feſtival and at every ſolemnity. Their ſongs, which, by recording the atchievements of kings and heroes, animated every hearer, muſt have been the entertainment of every warlike nation. We have Heſiod's authority, that in his time, bards were as common as potters or joiners, and as liable to envy. Demodocus is mentioned by Homer as a celebrated bard [h]; and Phemius, another bard, is introduced by him, deprecating the wrath of Ulyſſes in the following words:

" O king! to mercy be thy ſoul inclin'd,
" And ſpare the poet's ever-gentle kind.
" A deed like this thy future fame would wrong,
" For dear to Gods and men is ſacred ſong.
" Self-taught I ſing; by heav'n, and heav'n alone,
" The genuine ſeeds of poeſy are ſown;
" And (what the gods beſtow) the lofty lay,
" To gods alone, and godlike worth we pay.
" Save then the poet, and thyſelf reward;
" 'Tis thine to merit, mine is to record."

Cicero reports, that at Roman feſtivals anciently, the virtues and exploits of their great men were



h Odyſſey, b. 8.

ſung [i]. The ſame cuſtom prevailed in Peru and Mexico, as we learn from Garcilaſio and other authors. Strabo [k] gives a very particular account of the gallic bards. The following quotation is from Ammianus Marcellinus [l]. "Bardi "quidem fortia virorum illuſtrium facta heroicis "compoſita verſibus, cum dulcibus lyræ modulis, "cantitarunt." We have for our authority Father Gobien, that even the inhabitants of the Marian iſlands, have bards, who are greatly admired, becauſe in their ſongs, are celebrated the feats of their anceſtors. There are traces of the ſame kind among the Apalachites in North America *. And we ſhall ſee afterward [m], that in no other part of the world were bards more honoured than in Britain and Scandinavia.

Bards

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i Tuſculan queſtions, lib. 4. No. 3, & 4.

k Lib. 4.

l Lib. 15. cap, 9.

* The firſt ſeal that a young Greenlander catches, is made a feaſt for the family and neighbours. The young champion, during the repaſt, deſcants upon his addreſs in catching the animal; the gueſts admire his dexterity, and extol the flavour of the meat. Their only muſic, is a ſort of drum, which accompanies a ſong in praiſe of ſeal catching, in praiſe of their anceſtors, or in welcoming the ſun's return to them. Here are the rudiments of the bard profeſſion. The ſong is made for a chorus, as many of our ancient ſongs are. Take the following example:

"The welcome ſun returns again,
"Amna ajah, ajah, ah-hu!
"And brings us weather fine and fair,
"Amna ajah, ajah, ah-hu!

The bard ſings the firſt and third lines, accompanying it with his drum, and with a ſort of dance. The other lines termed, The burden of the ſong, are ſung by the gueſts.

m Sketch 7. Progreſs of Manners.

Bards were the only hiſtorians before writing was introduced. Tacitus [n] ſays, that the ſongs of the German bards were their only annals. And Joannes Magnus, Archbiſhop of Upſal, acknowledges, that in compiling his hiſtory of the ancient Goths, he had no other records but the ſongs of the bards. As theſe ſongs made an illuſtrious figure at every feſtival, they were conveyed in every family by parents to their children; and in that manner were kept alive, before writing was known.

The invention of writing made a conſiderable change in the bard profeſſion. It is now an agreed point, that no poetry is fit to be accompanied with muſic, but what is ſimple: a complicated thought or deſcription requires the utmoſt attention, and leaves none for the muſic; or if it divide the attention, it makes but a faint impreſſion [o]. The ſimple operas of Quinault bear away the palm from every thing of the kind compoſed by Boileau or Racine. But when a language, in its progreſs to maturity, is enriched with variety of phraſes fit to expreſs the moſt elevated thoughts, men of genius aſpired to the higher ſtrains of poetry, leaving muſic and ſong to the bards: which diſtinguiſhed the profeſſion of a poet from that of a bard. Homer, in a lax ſenſe, may be termed a bard; for in that character he ſtrolled from feaſt to feaſt. But he was not a bard in the original ſenſe: he, indeed, recited his poems to crowded audiences; but his poems are too complex for muſic, and he probably



[n] De Moribus Germanorum, cap. 2.
[o] See Elements of Criticiſm, vol. 2. Appendix.

did not ſing them, nor accompany them with the lyre. The Trovadores of Provence were bards in the original ſenſe, and made a capital figure in the days of ignorance, when few could read, and fewer write. In later times, the ſongs of the bards were taken down in writing, which gave every one acceſs to them without a bard; and the profeſſion ſunk by degrees into oblivion. Among the Highlanders of Scotland, reading and writing in their own tongue, is not common even at preſent; and that circumſtance ſupported long the bard profeſſion among them, after being forgot among the neighbouring nations. Oſſian was the moſt celebrated bard in Caledonia, as Homer was in Greece *.

After the foregoing hiſtorical deduction, the reader will perceive, without any aſſiſtance, why the firſt writings were in verſe. The ſongs of the bards, being univerſal favourites, were certainly the firſt compoſitions that writing was employed upon: they would be carefully collected by the moſt ſkillful writers, in order to preſerve them in perpetual remembrance. The following part of the progreſs is equally obvious. People acquainted with no written compoſitions but what were in verſe, compoſed in verſe their laws, their religious ceremonies, and every memorable tranſaction that was

* The multitude are ſtruck with what is new and ſplendid, but ſeldom continued long in a wrong taſte. Voltaire holds it to be a ſtrong teſtimony for the Gieruſaleme Liberata, that even the Gondoliers in Venice have it moſtly by heart; and that one no ſooner pronounces a ſtanza than another carries it on. The works of Oſſian have the ſame teſtimony for them: there are not many Highlanders, even of the loweſt rank, but can repeat long paſſages out of them.

was intended to be preſerved in memory by writing. But when ſubjects of writing multiplied, and became more and more involved, when people began to reaſon, to teach, and to harangue, they were obliged to deſcend to humble proſe; for to confine a writer or ſpeaker to verſe in handling ſubjects of that nature, would be a burden unſupportable.

The proſe compoſitions of early hiſtorians are all of them dramatic. A writer deſtitute of art is naturally prompted to relate facts as he ſaw them performed: he introduces his perſonages as ſpeaking and conferring; and he himſelf relates what was acted and not ſpoke. The hiſtorical books of the Old Teſtament, are compoſed in that mode; and ſo addicted to the dramatic, are the authors of thoſe books, that they frequently introduce God himſelf into the dialogue. At the ſame time, the ſimplicity of that mode, is happily ſuited to the poverty of every language in its early periods. The dramatic mode has a delicious effect in expreſſing ſentiment, and every thing that is ſimple and tender [p]. Take the following inſtance of a low incident, becoming, by that means, not a little intereſting. Naomi having loſt her huſband and her two ſons in foreign parts, and purpoſing to return to the land of her forefathers, ſaid to her two daughters-in-law, "Go, return each to her "mother's houſe: the LORD deal kindly with "you, as ye have dealt with the dead, and with "me.

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[p] See Elements of Criticiſm, chap. 22.

" me. The LORD grant that you may find reſt,
" each of you in the houſe of her huſband. Then
" ſhe kiſſed them: and they lift up their voice and
" wept. And they ſaid unto her, Surely we will
" return with thee unto thy people. And Naomi
" ſaid, Turn again, my daughters: why will ye
" go with me? are there yet any more ſons in my
" womb, that they may be your huſbands? Turn
" again, my daughters, go your way, for I am too
" old to have an huſband: if I ſhould ſay, I have
" hope, if I ſhould have an huſband alſo to-night,
" and ſhould alſo bear ſons; would ye tarry for
" them till they were grown? would you ſtay for
" them from having huſbands? nay, my daugh-
" ters: for it grieveth me much for your ſakes,
" that the hand of the LORD is gone out againſt
" me. And they lift up their voice, and wept a-
" gain: and Orpah kiſſed her mother-in-law, but
" Ruth clave unto her. And ſhe ſaid, Behold, thy
" ſiſter-in-law is gone back unto her people, and
" unto her gods: return thou after thy ſiſter-in-
" law. And Ruth ſaid, Intreat me not to leave
" thee, or to return from following after thee: for
" whither thou goeſt, I will go; and where thou
" lodgeſt, I will lodge; thy people ſhall be my
" people, and thy God my God: where thou dieſt,
" will I die, and there will I be buried: the LORD
" do ſo to me, and more alſo, if aught but death
" part thee and me. When ſhe ſaw that ſhe was
" ſtedfaſtly minded to go with her, then ſhe left
" ſpeaking unto her.

" So they two went until they came to Bethle-
" hem. And it came to paſs when they were come
" to Bethlehem, that all the city was moved abou

" them

" them, and they ſaid, Is this Naomi? And ſhe
" ſaid unto them, Call me not Naomi, call me
" Mara: for the Almighty hath dealt very bitter-
" ly with me. I went out full, and the LORD
" hath brought me home again empty: why then
" call ye me Naomi, ſeeing the LORD hath teſtified
" againſt me, and the Almighty hath afflicted me?
" So Naomi returned, and Ruth the Moabiteſs her
" daughter-in-law with her, which returned out of
" the country of Moab: and they came to Bethle-
" hem in the beginning of barley-harveſt.

" And Naomi had a kinſman of her huſband's,
" a mighty man of wealth, of the family of Eli-
" melech; and his name was Boaz. And Ruth
" the Moabiteſs ſaid unto Naomi, Let me now go
" to the field, and glean ears of corn after him in
" whoſe ſight I ſhall find grace. And ſhe ſaid unto
" her, Go, my daughter. And ſhe went, and
" came, and gleaned in the field after the reapers:
" and her hap was to light on a part of the field
" belonging unto Boaz, who was of the kindred
" of Elimelech.

" And behold, Boaz came from Bethlehem,
" and ſaid unto the reapers, The LORD be with
" you: and they anſwered him, The LORD bleſs
" thee. Then ſaid Boaz unto his ſervant that was
" ſet over the reapers, Whoſe damſel is this? And
" the ſervant that was ſet over the reapers anſwer-
" ed and ſaid, It is the Moabitiſh damſel that came
" back with Naomi, out of the country of Moab:
" and ſhe ſaid, I pray you, let me glean, and ga-
" ther after the reapers, amongſt the ſheaves: ſo
" ſhe came, and hath continued even from the
" morning until now, that ſhe tarried a little in

" the

" the houſe. Then ſaid Boaz unto Ruth, Heareſt
" thou not, my daughter? Go not to glean in an-
" other field, neither go from hence, but abide
" here faſt by my maidens. Let thine eyes be on
" the field that they do reap, and go thou after
" them: have I not charged the young men, that
" they ſhall not touch thee? and when thou art
" a-thirſt, go unto the veſſels, and drink of that
" which the young men have drawn. Then ſhe
" fell on her face, and bowed herſelf to the ground,
" and ſaid unto him, Why have I found grace in
" thine eyes, that thou ſhouldſt take knowledge of
" me, ſeeing I am a ſtranger? And Boaz anſwered
" and ſaid unto her, It hath fully been ſhewed me
" all that thou haſt done unto thy mother-in-
" law ſince the death of thine huſband; and how
" thou haſt left thy father and thy mother, and
" the land of thy nativity, and art come unto a
" people which thou kneweſt not heretofore. The
" LORD recompenſe thy work, and a full reward
" be given thee of the LORD God of Iſrael, under
" whoſe wings thou art come to truſt. Then ſhe
" ſaid, Let me find favour in thy ſight, my lord,
" for that thou haſt comforted me, and for that
" thou haſt ſpoken friendly unto thine handmaid,
" though I be not like unto one of thine hand-
" maidens. And Boaz ſaid unto her, At meal-
" time come thou hither, and eat of the bread,
" and dip thy morſel in the vinegar. And ſhe ſat
" by the reapers: and he reached her parched
" corn, and ſhe did eat, and was ſufficed, and left.
" And when ſhe was riſen up to glean, Boaz com-
" manded his young men, ſaying, Let her glean
" even among the ſheaves, and reproach her not.

" And

" And let fall alſo ſome of the handfuls of purpoſe
" for her, and leave them, that ſhe may glean
" them, and rebuke her not. So ſhe gleaned in
" the field until even, and beat out that ſhe had
" gleaned: and it was about an ephah of barley.
" And ſhe took it up, and went into the city:
" and her mother-in-law ſaw what ſhe had glean-
" ed: and ſhe brought forth, and gave to her that
" ſhe had reſerved, after ſhe was ſufficed. And
" her mother-in-law ſaid unto her, Where haſt
" thou gleaned to-day? and where wroughteſt
" thou? bleſſed be he that did take knowledge of
" thee. And ſhe ſhewed her mother-in-law with
" whom ſhe had wrought, and ſaid, The man's
" name, with whom I wrought to-day, is Boaz.
" And Naomi ſaid unto her daughter-in-law,
" Bleſſed be he of the LORD, who hath not left
" off his kindneſs to the living and to the dead.
" And Naomi ſaid unto her, The man is near of
" kin unto us, one of our next kinſman. And
" Ruth the Moabiteſs ſaid, He ſaid unto me alſo,
" Thou ſhalt keep faſt by my young men, until
" they have ended all my harveſt. And Naomi
" ſaid unto Ruth her daughter-in-law, It is good,
" my daughter, that thou go out with his maidens,
" that they meet thee not in any other field. So
" ſhe kept faſt by the maidens of Boaz to glean,
" unto the end of barley-harveſt, and of wheat-
" harveſt; and dwelt with her mother-in-law.
" Then Naomi her mother-in-law ſaid unto her,
" My daughter, ſhall I not ſeek reſt for thee, that
" it may be well with thee? And now is not Boaz
" of our kindred, with whoſe maidens thou waſt?
" Behold he winnoweth barley to-night in the

" threſhing-floor. Waſh thyſelf, therefore, and " anoint thee, and put thy raiment upon thee, and " get thee down to the floor: but make not thyſelf " known unto the man, until he ſhall have done " eating and drinking. And it ſhall be, when he " lieth down, that thou ſhalt mark the place where " he ſhall lie, and thou ſhalt go in, and uncover " his feet, and lay thee down, and he will tell thee " what thou ſhalt do. And ſhe ſaid unto her, All " that thou ſayeſt unto me, I will do.

" And ſhe went down unto the floor, and did " according to all that her mother-in-law bade her. " And when Boaz had eaten and drunk, and his " heart was merry, he went to lie down at the end " of the heap of corn: and ſhe came ſoftly, and " uncovered his feet, and laid her down.

" And it came to paſs at midnight, that the man " was afraid, and turned himſelf: and behold, a " woman lay at his feet. And he ſaid, Who art " thou? And ſhe anſwered, I am Ruth thine " handmaid: ſpread, therefore, thy ſkirt over " thine handmaid, for thou art a near kinſman. " And he ſaid, Bleſſed be thou of the LORD, my " daughter: for thou haſt ſhewed more kindneſs in " the latter end, than at the beginning, inaſmuch " as thou followeſt not young men, whether poor " or rich. And now, my daughter, fear not, for " I will do to thee all that thou requireſt: for all " the city of my people doth know, that thou art " a virtuous woman. And now it is true, that I am " thy near kinſman: howbeit, there is a kinſman " nearer than I. Tarry this night, and it ſhall be " in the morning, that if he will perform unto " thee the part of a kinſman, well, let him do the

" kinſman's

" kinſman's part; but if he will not do the part
" of a kinſman to thee, then will I do the part
" of a kinſman to thee, as the LORD liveth, lie
" down until the morning.

" And ſhe lay at his feet until the morning: and
" ſhe roſe up before one could know another. And
" he ſaid, Let it not be known that a woman
" came into the floor. Alſo he ſaid, Bring the
" veil that thou haſt upon thee, and hold it. And
" when ſhe held it, he meaſured ſix meaſures of
" barley, and laid it on her: and ſhe went into
" the city. And when ſhe came to her mother-
" in-law, ſhe ſaid, Who art thou, my daughter?
" and ſhe told her all that the man had done
" to her, and ſhe ſaid, Theſe ſix meaſures of
" barley gave he me; for he ſaid to me, Go not
" empty unto thy mother-in-law. Then ſaid ſhe,
" Sit ſtill, my daughter, until thou know how
" the matter will fall: for the man will not be in
" reſt, until he have finiſhed the thing this day.

" Then went Boaz up to the gate, and ſat him
" down there: and behold, the kinſman of whom
" Boaz ſpake, came by; unto whom he ſaid,
" Ho, ſuch-a-one, turn aſide, ſit down here. And
" he turned aſide and ſat down. And he took
" ten men of the elders of the city, and ſaid, Sit
" ye down here. And they ſat down. And he
" ſaid unto the kinſman, Naomi, that is come
" again out of the country of Moab, ſelleth a par-
" cel of land, which was our brother Elimelech's.
" And I thought to advertiſe thee, ſaying, Buy it
" before the inhabitants, and before the elders of
" my people. If thou wilt redeem it, redeem it;

" but if thou wilt not redeem it, then tell me,
" that I may know: for there is none to redeem
" it beſides thee, and I am after thee. And
" he ſaid, I will redeem it. Then ſaid Boaz,
" What day thou buyeſt the field of the hand of
" Naomi, thou muſt buy it alſo of Ruth the
" Moabiteſs, the wife of the dead, to raiſe up the
" name of the dead upon his inheritance.

" And the kinſman ſaid, I cannot redeem it for
" myſelf, leſt I mar mine own inheritance: re-
" deem thou my right to thyſelf, for I cannot
" redeem it. Now this was the manner in former
" time in Iſrael, concerning redeeming, and con-
" cerning changing, for to confirm all things, a
" man plucked off his ſhoe, and gave it to his
" neighbour, and this was a teſtimony in Iſrael.
" Therefore the kinſman ſaid unto Boaz, Buy it
" for thee, ſo he drew off his ſhoe.

" And Boaz ſaid unto the elders, and unto all
" the people, Ye are witneſſes this day, that I
" have bought all that was Elimelech's, and all
" that was Chilon's and Mahlon's, of the hand of
" Naomi, Moreover, Ruth the Moabiteſs, the
" wife of Mahlon, have I purchaſed to be my
" wife, to raiſe up the name of the dead upon his
" inheritance, that the name of the dead be not cut
" off from among his brethren, and from the gate
" of his place, ye are witneſſes this day. And all
" the people that were in the gate, and the elders
" ſaid, We are witneſſes: The LORD make the
" woman that is come into thine houſe, like Ra-
" chel and like Leah, which two did build the
" houſe of Iſrael, and do thou worthily in Ephra-
" tah, and be famous in Bethlehem. And let thy
" houſe

" houſe be like the houſe of Pharez (whom Tamar
" bare unto Judah) of the ſeed which the LORD
" ſhall give thee of this young woman.

" So Boaz took Ruth, and ſhe was his wife,
" and when he went in unto her, the Lord gave
" her conception, and ſhe bare a ſon. And the
" woman ſaid unto Naomi, Bleſſed be the LORD,
" which hath not left thee this day without a kinſ-
" man, that his name may be famous in Iſrael.
" And he ſhall be unto thee a reſtorer of thy life,
" and a nouriſher of thine old age: for thy daugh-
" ter-in-law which loveth thee, which is better to
" thee than ſeven ſons, hath born him. And
" Naomi took the child, and laid it in her boſom,
" and became nurſe unto it [q]."

The dramatic mode is far from pleaſing ſo much in relating bare hiſtorical facts. Take the following example.

" Wherefore Nathan ſpake unto Bath-ſheba the
" mother of Solomon, ſaying, Haſt thou not heard
" that Adonijah the ſon of Haggith doth reign,
" and David our Lord knoweth it not? Now there-
" fore come, let me, I pray thee, give thee coun-
" ſel, that thou mayeſt ſave thine own life, and the
" life of thy ſon Solomon. Go, and get thee in
" unto king David, and ſay unto him, Didſt not
" thou, my lord, O king, ſwear unto thine hand-
" maid, ſaying, Aſſuredly Solomon thy ſon ſhall
" reign after me, and he ſhall ſit upon my throne?
" why then doth Adonijah reign? Behold, while
" thou yet talkeſt there with the king, I will alſo
" come in after thee, and confirm thy words.

" And

[q] Ruth i. 8.—iv. 16.

" And Bathſheba went in unto the king, into " the chamber: and the king was very old; and " Abiſhag the Shunammite miniſtered unto the " king. And Bath-ſheba bowed, and did obeiſance " unto the king; and the king ſaid, What wouldeſt " thou, and ſhe ſaid unto him, My lord, thou " ſwareſt by the LORD thy God unto thine hand- " maid, ſaying, Aſſuredly Solomon thy ſon ſhall reign " after me, and he ſhall ſit upon my throne: and " now, behold, Adonijah reigneth; and now, my " lord the king, thou knoweſt it not. And he " hath ſlain oxen, and fat cattle, and ſheep, in " abundance, and hath called all the ſons of the " king, and Abiathar the prieſt, and Joab the " captain of the hoſt; but Solomon thy ſervant, " hath he not called. And thou, my lord, O king, " the eyes of all Iſrael are upon thee, that thou " ſhouldſt tell them who ſhall ſit on the throne " of my lord the king after him. Otherwiſe it " ſhall come to paſs, when my lord the king ſhall " ſleep with his fathers, that I and my ſon Solo- " mon ſhall be counted offenders.

" And lo, while ſhe yet talked with the king, " Nathan the prophet alſo came in. And they " told the king, ſaying, Behold, Nathan the pro- " phet. And when he was come in before the " king, he bowed himſelf before the king, with his " face to the ground. And Nathan ſaid, My lord " O king, haſt thou ſaid, Adonijah ſhall reign " after me, and he ſhall ſit upon my throne? for " he is gone down this day, and hath ſlain oxen, " and fat cattle, and ſheep in abundance, and hath " called all the king's ſons, and the captains of the " hoſt, and Abiathar the prieſt; and behold, they

" eat

" eat and drink before him, and ſay, God ſave
" king Adonijah. But me, even me thy ſervant,
" and Zadock the prieſt, and Benaiah the ſon of
" Jehoiada, and thy ſervant Solomon hath he not
" called. Is this thing done by my lord the king,
" and thou haſt not ſhewed it unto thy ſervant,
" who ſhould ſit on the throne of my lord the king
" after him?

" Then king David anſwered and ſaid, Call me
" Bath-ſheba: and ſhe came into the king's pre-
" ſence, and ſtood before the king. And the king
" ſware, and ſaid, As the LORD liveth, that hath
" redeemed my ſoul out of all diſtreſs, even as I
" ſware unto thee by the LORD God of Iſrael, ſay-
" ing, Aſſuredly Solomon thy ſon ſhall reign after
" me, and he ſhall ſit upon my throne in my ſtead;
" even ſo will I certainly do this day. Then Bath-
" ſheba bowed with her face to the earth, and did
" reverence to the king, and ſaid, Let my lord king
" David live for ever.

" And king David ſaid, Call me Zadock the
" prieſt, and Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah the
" ſon of Jehoiada. And they came before the
" king. The king alſo ſaid unto them, Take with
" you the ſervants of your lord, and cauſe Solomon
" my ſon to ride upon mine own mule, and bring
" him down to Gihon. And let Zadock the prieſt,
" and Nathan the prophet, anoint him there king
" over Iſrael: and blow ye with the trumpet, and
" ſay, God ſave king Solomon. Then ye ſhall
" come up after him, that he may come and ſit
" upon my throne; for he ſhall be king in my
" ſtead: and I have appointed him to be ruler over
" Iſrael, and over Judah. And Benaiah the ſon of

" Jehoiada

" Jehoiada anſwered the king, and ſaid, Amen:
" the LORD God of my lord the king ſay ſo too.
" As the LORD hath been with my lord the king,
" even ſo be he with Solomon, and make his
" throne greater than the throne of my lord king
" David. So Zadock the prieſt, and Nathan the
" prophet, and Benaiah the ſon of Jehoiada, and
" the Cherethites and the Pelethites, went down,
" and cauſed Solomon to ride upon king David's
" mule, and brought him to Gihon. And Zadock
" the prieſt took an horn of oil out of the taberna-
" cle, and anointed Solomon; and they blew the
" trumpet, and all the people ſaid, God ſave king
" Solomon. And all the people came up after
" him, and the people piped with pipes, and re-
" joiced with great joy, ſo that the earth rent with
" the ſound of them.

" And Adonijah, aud all the gueſts that were
" with him, heard it, as they had made an end of
" eating: and when Joab heard the ſound of the
" trumpet, he ſaid, Wherefore is this noiſe of the
" city, being in an uproar? And while he yet
" ſpake, behold, Jonathan the ſon of Abiathar the
" prieſt came, and Adonijah ſaid unto him, Come
" in, for thou art a valiant man, and bringeſt good
" tidings. And Jonathan anſwered and ſaid to
" Adonijah, Verily our lord king David hath
" made Solomon king. And the king has ſent
" with him Zadock the prieſt, and Nathan the
" prophet, and Benaiah the ſon of Jehoiada, and
" the Cherethites, and the Pelethites, and they
" have cauſed him to ride upon the king's mule.
" And Zadock the prieſt, and Nathan the prophet
" have anointed him king in Gihon: and they are

" come

" come up from thence rejoicing, ſo that the city
" rang again: this is the noiſe that ye have heard.
" And alſo Solomon ſitteth on the throne of the
" kingdom. And moreover the king's ſervants
" came to bleſs our lord king David, ſaying, God
" make the name of Solomon better than thy
" name, and make his throne greater than thy
" throne: and the king bowed himſelf upon the
" bed. And alſo thus ſaid the king: Bleſſed be
" the LORD God of Iſrael, which hath given one
" to ſit on my throne this day, mine eyes even
" ſeeing it. And all the gueſts that were with A-
" donijah were afraid, and roſe up, and went eve-
" ry man his way [r]."

In the example here given are found frequent repetitions; not however by the ſame perſon, but by different perſons who have occaſion in the courſe of the ſtory to ſay the ſame things; which is natural in the dramatic mode, where things are repreſented preciſely as they were tranſacted. In that view, Homer's repetitions are a beauty, not a blemiſh; for they are confined to the dramatic part, and never occur in the narrative.

But the dramatic mode of compoſition, however pleaſing, is tedious and intolerable in a long hiſtory. In the progreſs of ſociety new appetites and new paſſions ariſe; men come to be involved with each other in various connections; incidents and events multiply, and hiſtory becomes intricate by an endleſs variety of circumſtances. Dialogue accordingly is more ſparingly uſed, and in hiſtory plain nar-

[r] 1 Kings i, 11—49.

ration is mixed with it. Narration is as it were the ground-work, and dialogue is raiſed upon it, like flowers in embroidery. Homer is admitted by all to be the great maſter in that mode of compoſition. Nothing can be more perfect in that reſpect than the Iliad. The Odyſſey is far inferior; and to guard myſelf againſt the cenſure of the blind admirers of Homer, a tribe extremely formidable, I call to my aid a celebrated critic, whoſe ſuperior taſte and judgment never has been diſputed. "The "Odyſſey," ſays Longinus, "ſhows how natural "it is for a writer of a great genius, in his declining "age, to ſink down to fabulous narration; for that "Homer compoſed the Odyſſey after the Iliad is "evident from many circumſtances. As the Iliad "was compoſed while his genius was in its greateſt "vigour, the ſtructure of that work is dramatic "and full of action; the Odyſſey, on the contrary, "is moſtly employed in narration, proceeding from "the coldneſs of old age. In that later compoſition, "Homer may be compared to the ſetting ſun, "which has ſtill the ſame greatneſs, but not the "ſame ardor or force. We ſee not in the Odyſſey "that ſublime of the Iliad which conſtantly pro-"ceeds in the ſame animated tone, that ſtrong tide "of motions and paſſions flowing ſucceſſively like "waves in a ſtorm. But Homer, like the ocean, "is great, even when he ebbs, and loſes himſelf "in narration and incredible fictions; witneſs his "deſcription of tempeſts, the adventures of Ulyſ-"ſes with Polyphemus the Cyclops, and many o-"thers *." The

* The Pilgrim's Progreſs and Robinſon Cruſoe, great favourites of the vulgar, are compoſed in a ſtyle enlivened like that of Homer by

The narrative mode came in time ſo to prevail, that in a long chain of hiſtory, the writer commonly leaves off dialogue altogether. Early writers of that kind appear to have very little judgment in diſtinguiſhing capital facts from minute circumſtances, ſuch as can be ſupplyed by the reader without being mentioned. The hiſtory of the Trojan war by Dares Phrygius is a curious inſtance of that cold and creeping manner of compoſition. Take the following paſſage: Hercules having made a deſcent upon Troy, ſlew King Laomedon, and made a preſent of Heſione, the King's daughter, to Telamon his companion. Priamus, who ſucceeded to the kingdom of Troy upon the death of his father Laomedon, ſent Antenor to demand his ſiſter Heſione. Our author proceeds in the following manner: "Antenor, as commanded by Priamus, took "ſhipping, and ſailed to Magneſia, where Peleus "reſided. Peleus entertained him hoſpitably three "days, and the fourth day demanded whence he "came. Antenor ſaid, that he was ordered by "Priamus to demand from the Greeks, that they "ſhould reſtore Heſione. When Peleus heard this "he was angry, becauſe it concerned his family, "Telamon being his brother; and ordered the "ambaſſador to depart. Antenor, without delay, "retired to his ſhip, and ſailed to Salamis, where "Telamon reſided, and demanded of him, that he "ſhould reſtore Heſione to her brother Priamus; "as it was unjuſt to detain ſo long in ſervitude a

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by a proper mixture of the dramatic and narrative; and upon that account chiefly have been tranſlated into ſeveral European languages.

" young woman of royal birth. Telamon anſwer-
" ed, that he had done nothing to Priamus; and
" that he would not reſtore what he had received
" as a reward for his valour; and ordered Antenor
" to leave the iſland. Antenor went to Achaia;
" and ſailing from thence to Caſtor and Pollux de-
" manded of them to ſatisfy Priamus, by reſtoring
" to him his ſiſter Heſione. Caſtor and Pollux de-
" nied that they had done any injury to Priamus,
" but that Laomedon had firſt injured them; or-
" dering Antenor to depart. From thence he ſailed
" to Neſtor in Pylus, telling him the cauſe of his
" coming; which when Neſtor heard, he begun
" to exclaim, how Antenor durſt ſet his foot in
" Greece, ſeeing the Greeks were firſt injured by
" the Phrygians. When Antenor found that he
" had obtained nothing, and that Priamus was
" contumelioufly treated, he went on ſhipboard,
" and returned home." The Roman hiſtories be-
fore the time of Cicero are chronicles merely. Ca-
to, Fabius, Pictor, and Piſo, confined themſelves
to naked facts [s]. In the Auguſtæ Hiſtoriæ Scripto-
res we find nothing but a jejune narrative of facts,
commonly of very little moment, concerning a de-
generate people, without a ſingle incident that can
rouſe the imagination, or exerciſe the judgment.
The Monkiſh hiſtories are all of them compoſed in
the ſame manner *.

The

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s Cicero de Oratore, lib. 2. No. 5.

* Euripides, in his Phœnicians, introduces Oedipus, under ſen-
tence of baniſhment and blind, calling for his ſtaff, his daughter An-
tigone putting it in his hand, and directing every ſtep, to keep him
from

The dry narrative manner being very little intereſting or agreeable, a taſte for embelliſhment prompted ſome writers to be copious and verboſe. Saxo Grammaticus, who in the 12th century compoſed in Latin a hiſtory of Denmark ſurpriſingly pure at that early period, is extremely verboſe and full of tautologies. Such a ſtyle, at any rate unpleaſant, is intolerable in a modern tongue, before it is enriched with a ſtock of phraſes for expreſſing aptly the great variety of incidents that enter into hiſtory. Take the following example out of an endleſs number. Henry VII. of England, having the young Queen of Naples in view for a wife, deputed three men in character of ambaſſadors, to viſit her, "and to anſwer certain queſtions contained in curious and exquiſite inſtructions for taking a ſurvey of her perſon, complexion, &c." as expreſſed by Bacon in his life of that prince. One of the inſtructions was, to procure a picture of the Queen; which one would think could not require many words; yet behold the inſtruction itſelf. "The "King's ſaid ſervants ſhall alſo, at their comyng "to the parties of Spayne, diligently enquere for "ſome conyng paynter having good experience in "making and paynting of viſages and portretures, "and ſuche oon they ſhall take with them to the "place where the ſaid Quunis make their abode,

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from ſtumbling. Such minute circumſtances, like what are frequent in Richardſon's novels, tend indeed to make the reader conceive himſelf to be a ſpectator [t]: but whether that advantage be not more than over-balanced by the langour of a creeping narrative, may be juſtly doubted.

[t] See Elements of Criticiſm, chap. 2. part. 1. ſect. 7.

"to

" to the intent that the ſaid paynter maye draw a " picture of the viſage and ſemblance of the ſaid " young Quine, as like unto her as it can or may " be conveniently doon, which picture and image " they ſhall ſubſtantially note, and marke in every " pounte and circumſtance, ſoo that it agree in ſi- " militude and likeneſſe as near as it may poſſible " to the veray viſage, countenance, and ſemblance " of the ſaid Quine; and in caſe they may perceyve " that the paynter, at the furſt or ſecond making " thereof, hath not made the ſame perfaite to her " ſimilytude and likeneſſe, or that he hath omitted " any feture or circumſtance, either in colours, or " other proporcions of the ſaid viſage, then they " ſhall cauſe the ſame paynter, or ſome other the " moſt conyng paynter that they can gete, ſoo " oftentimes to renewe and reforme the ſame pic- " ture, till it be made perfaite, and agreeable in e- " very behalfe, with the very image and viſage of " the ſaid Quine *." After this ſpecimen ſo much to his Lordſhip's taſte, one will not be ſurpriſed at the flatneſs of the hiſtorical ſtyle during that period. By that flatneſs of ſtyle his Lordſhip's hiſtory of Henry VII. ſinks below the gravity and dignity of hiſtory; particularly in his ſimiles, metaphors, and alluſions, not leſs diſtant than flat. Of Perkin

* The following paſſage, copied from an Edinburgh news-paper, may almoſt rival this eloquent piece. After obſerving that the froſt was intenſe, which, ſays the writer, renders travelling very dangerous either in town or country, he proceeds thus: " We would there- " fore recommend it to ſhopkeepers, and thoſe whoſe houſes are cloſe " upon the ſtreets or lanes, to ſcatter aſhes oppoſite to their doors, " as it may be a means of preventing paſſengers from falling, which " they are in great danger of doing at preſent, from the ſlippineſs " of the ſtreets, where that practice is not followed."

Warbeck

Warbeck and his followers he ſays, " that they " were now like ſand without lime, ill bound to- " gether." Again, " But Perkin, adviſed to keep " his fire, which hitherto burned as it were upon " green wood, alive with continual blowing, ſailed " again into Ireland." Again, " As in the tides " of people once up, there want not commonly " ſtirring winds to make them more rough, ſo this " people did light upon two ringleaders or cap- " tains." Again, ſpeaking of the Corniſh inſur- gents, and of the cauſes that inflamed them. " But now theſe bubbles by much ſtirring began to " meet, as they uſed to do on the top of water." Again, ſpeaking of Perkin, " And as it fareth " with ſmoak, that never loſeth itſelf till it be at " the higheſt, he did now before his end raiſe his " ſtile, intitling himſelf no more Richard Duke of " York, but Richard the Fourth, King of Eng- " land." He deſcends ſometimes ſo low as to play upon words; witneſs the following ſpeech made for Perkin to the King of Scotland. " High and " mighty King! your Grace may be pleaſed be- " nignly to bow your ears to hear the tragedy of a " young man that by right ought to hold in his " hand the ball of a kingdom, but by fortune is " made himſelf a ball, toſſed from miſery to miſe- " ry, and from place to place." The following is a ſtrangely forced alluſion. Talking of Margaret Ducheſs of Burgundy, who had patronized Lam- bert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, he ſays, " It is " the ſtrangeſt thing in the world, that the Lady " Margaret ſhould now, when other women give " over child-bearing, bring furth two ſuch mon- " ſters, being, at birth, not of nine or ten months,

" but

" but of many years. And whereas other natural " mothers bring furth children weak, and not able " to help themſelves, ſhe bringeth furth tall ſtrip- " lings, able, ſoon after their coming into the " world, to bid battle to mighty kings." I ſhould not have given ſo many inſtances of puerilities in compoſition, were they not the performance of a great philoſopher. Low, indeed, muſt have been the taſte of that age when it infected its greateſt genius.

The perfection of hiſtorical compoſition, which writers at laſt attain to after wandering through various imperfect modes, is a relation of intereſting facts connected with their motives and conſequences. A hiſtory of that kind is truly a chain of cauſes and effects. The hiſtory of Thucydides, and ſtill more that of Tacitus, are ſhining inſtances of that mode.

A language in its original poverty, being deficient in ſtrength and variety, has nothing at command for enforcing a thought but to redouble the expreſſion. Inſtances are without number in the Old Teſtament. " And they ſay, How doth God " know, and is there knowledge in the Moſt " High?" Again, " Thus ſhalt thou ſay to the " houſe of Jacob, and tell to the children of Iſrael." Again, " I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, " and an adverſary unto thine adverſaries." Again, " To know wiſdom and inſtruction, to per- " ceive the words of underſtanding, to receive the " inſtruction of wiſdom." " She layeth her hands " to the ſpindle, and her hands hold the diſtaff." " Put away from thee a forward mouth, and per- " verſe lips put far from thee. Let thine eyes look

" right

" right on, and let thine eye-lids look ſtraight be-
" fore thee."

Eloquence was of later date than the art of literary compoſition; for till the latter was improved, there were no models for ſtudying the former. Cicero's oration for Roſcius is compoſed in a ſtyle diffuſe and highly ornamented; which, ſays Plutarch, was univerſally approved, becauſe at that time the ſtyle of Aſia, introduced into Rome with its luxury, was in high vogue. But Cicero, in a journey to Greece, where he leiſurely ſtudied Greek authors, was thought to prune off ſuperfluities, and to purify his ſtyle, which he did to a high degree of refinement. He introduced into his native tongue a ſweetneſs, a grace, a majeſty, that ſurpriſed the world, and even the Romans themſelves. Cicero obſerves with great regret, that if ambition for power had not drawn Julius Cæſar from the bar to command legions, he would have become the moſt complete orator in the world. So partial are men to the profeſſion in which they excel. Eloquence triumphs in a popular aſſembly, makes ſome figure in a court of law compoſed of many judges; very little where there is but a ſingle judge, and none at all in a deſpotic government. Eloquence flouriſhed in the republics of Athens and of Rome; and makes ſome figure at preſent in a Britiſh houſe of Commons.

The Greek ſtage has been juſtly admired among all polite nations. The tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides in particular are by all critics held to be perfect in their kind, excellent models for imitation, but far above rivalſhip. If the Greek ſtage was ſo early brought to maturity, it is a phenome-

non not a little ſingular in the progreſs of arts. The Greek tragedy made a rapid progreſs from Theſpes to Sophocles and Euripides, whoſe compoſitions are, indeed, the moſt complete that ever were exhibited in Greece: but whether they be really ſuch maſter-pieces as is generally thought, will admit of ſome doubt. The ſubject is curious: and I hope the candid reader will give attention to what follows.

No human voice could fill the Greek theatre, which was ſo ſpacious as to contain ſeveral thouſands without crowding. A braſs pipe was invented to ſtrengthen the voice; but that invention ſuppreſſed the melody of pronunciation, by confining the voice to harſh monotony. The pipe was not the only unpleaſant circumſtance: every actor wore a maſk; for what end or purpoſe, is not explained. It may be true, that the expreſſions of the countenance could not be diſtinctly ſeen by thoſe who occupied the back rows; and a maſk poſſibly was thought neceſſary in order to put all the citizens upon a level. But without prying into the cauſe, let us only figure an actor with a maſk and pipe. He may repreſent tolerably a ſimple incident or plain thought, ſuch as are the materials of an Italian opera; but the voice, countenance, and geſtures, are indiſpenſable in expreſſing refined ſentiments, and the more delicate tones of paſſion.

Where then lies the charm in ancient tragedies that captivated all ranks of men? Greek tragedies are more active than ſentimental: they contain many ſenſible reflections on morals, manners, and upon life in general; but no ſentiments except what are plain and obvious. The ſubjects are of the

the ſimpleſt kind, ſuch as give riſe to the paſſions of hope, fear, love, hatred, envy, and revenge, in their moſt ordinary exertions: no intricate nor delicate ſituation to occaſion any ſingular emotion; no gradual ſwelling and ſubſiding of paſſion; and ſeldom any conflict between different paſſions. I would not, however, be underſtood as meaning to depreciate Greek tragedies. They are, indeed, wonderful productions of genius, conſidering that the Greeks at that period were but beginning to emerge from roughneſs and barbarity into a taſte for literature. The compoſitions of Eſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, muſt have been highly reliſhed among a people who had no idea of any thing more perfect. We judge by compariſon, and every work is held to be perfect that has no rival. It ought at the ſame time to be kept in view, that it was not the dialogue which chiefly enchanted the Athenians, nor variety in the paſſions repreſented, nor perfection in the actors, but machinery and pompous decoration, joined with exquiſite muſic. That theſe particulars were carried to the greateſt height, we may with certainty conclude from the extravagant ſums beſtowed on them: the exhibiting a ſingle tragedy was more expenſive to the Athenians than their fleet or their army in any ſingle campaign.

One would imagine, however, that theſe compoſitions were too ſimple to enchant for ever; as variety in action, ſentiment, and paſſion is requiſite, without which the ſtage will not continue long a favourite entertainment: and yet we find not a ſingle improvement attempted after the days of Sophocles and Euripides. This may appear a matter

of wonder at firſt view. But the wonder vaniſhes upon conſidering, that the manner of performance prevented abſolutely any improvement. A fluctuation of paſſion and refined ſentiments would have made no figure on the Grecian ſtage. Imagine the diſcording ſcene between Brutus and Caſſius in Julius Cæſar to be there exhibited, or the handkerchief in the Moor of Venice: how ſlight would be their effect, when pronounced in a maſk, and through a pipe? The workings of nature upon the countenance, and the flections of voice expreſſive of various feelings, ſo deeply affecting in modern repreſentation, would have been entirely loſt. If a great genius had ariſen with talents for compoſing a pathetic tragedy in perfection, he would have made no figure in Greece. An edifice muſt have been erected of a moderate ſize: new actors muſt have been trained to act with a bare face, and to pronounce in their own voice. And after all there remained a greater miracle ſtill to be performed, viz. a total reformation of taſte in the people of Athens. In one word, the ſimplicity of the Greek tragedy was ſuited to the manner of acting; and that manner excluded all improvements.

From theſe premiſes an inference may with certainty be drawn, that delicacy of taſte and feeling were but faintly known among the Greeks, even when they made the greateſt figure. Muſic, indeed, may be ſucceſsfully employed in a ſentimental tragedy; but pomp and ſplendor of performance avail nothing. A ſpectator deeply affected is regardleſs of decoration. I appeal to the reproving ſcene between Hamlet and the Queen his mother: does any man of taſte beſtow the ſlighteſt attention on the

the beauty of the ſcenery? It would, however, be raſh to involve in the ſame cenſure every Athenian. Do not pantomime-ſhow, rope-dancing, and other ſuch faſhionable ſpectacles, draw multitudes from the deepeſt tragedies? And yet among us there are perſons of taſte not a few, who deſpiſe ſuch ſpectacles as fit only for the mob, perſons who never bowed the knee to Baal. And if there were ſuch perſons in Athens, of which we have no reaſon to doubt, it proves the ſuperiority of their taſte; they had no example of more refined compoſitions than were exhibited on their ſtage; we have many.

With reſpect to comedy, it does not appear that the Greek comedy ſurpaſſed the tragedy in its progreſs toward perfection. Horace mentions three ſtages of Greek comedy. The firſt was well ſuited to the rough and coarſe manners of the Greeks, when Eupolis, Cratinus, and Ariſtophanes wrote. Theſe authors were not aſhamed to repreſent on the ſtage real perſons, not even diſguiſing their names; of which we have a ſtriking inſtance in a comedy of Ariſtophanes called The Clouds, where Socrates is introduced, and moſt contemptuouſly treated. This ſort of comedy, ſparing neither gods nor men, was reſtrained by the magiſtrates of Athens, ſo far as to prohibit perſons to be named on the ſtage. This led writers to do what is done at preſent: the characters and manners of known perſons were painted ſo much to the life, that there could be no miſtake; and the ſatire was indeed heightened by this regulation; as it was an additional pleaſure to find out the names that were meant in the repreſentation. This was termed the middle comedy. But as there ſtill remained too great ſcope for oblo-

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quy and licentiouſneſs, a law was made prohibiting real events or incidents to be introduced upon the ſtage. This law happily baniſhed ſatire againſt individuals, and confined it to manners and cuſtoms in general. Obedient to this law are the comedies of Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, who flouriſhed about 300 years before the Chriſtian æra. And this is termed the third ſtage of Greek comedy. The comedies of Ariſtophanes, which ſtill remain, err not leſs againſt taſte than againſt decency. But we have good ground to believe, that the Greek comedy was conſiderably refined by Menander and his cotemporaries; and we muſt rely upon collateral evidence, becauſe we have very few remains of their works. Their works, however, were far from perfection, if we can draw any conjecture from their imitator Plautus, who wrote about a century later. Plautus was a writer of genius; and it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed that his copies did not fall much ſhort of the originals, at leaſt in matters that can be faithfully copied; and he ſhows very little art, either in his compoſitions, or in the conduct of his pieces. With reſpect to the former, his plots are wondrous ſimple, very little varied, and very little intereſting. The ſubject of almoſt every piece is a young man in love mith a muſic-girl, deſiring to purchaſe her from the procurer, and employing a favourite ſlave to cheat his father out of the price; and the different ways of accompliſhing the cheat is all the variety we find. In ſome few of his comedies the ſtory riſes to a higher tone, the muſic-girl being diſcovered to be the daughter of a free man, which removes every obſtruction to a marriage between her and her lover.

In

In the conduct of his pieces there is a miſerable defect of art. Inſtead of unfolding the ſubject in the progreſs of the action, as is done by Terence, and by every modern writer, Plautus introduces a perſon for no other end but to explain the ſtory to the audience. In one of his comedies, a houſehold-god is ſo obliging as not only to unfold the ſubject, but to relate before-hand every particular that is to be repreſented, not excepting the cataſtrophe. Did not Plautus know, that it is pleaſant to have our curioſity raiſed about what will happen next? In the courſe of the action, perſons are frequently introduced who are heard talking to themſelves on the open ſtreet. One would imagine the Greeks to have been great babblers, when they could not refrain ſoliloquies even in public. Could Plautus have been ſo artleſs in the conduct of his pieces, had a more perfect model been exhibited to him by Menander or the other authors mentioned?

It is obſerved, in Elements of Criticiſm [u], that when a language begins to receive ſome poliſh, and the meaning of words is tolerably aſcertained, then it is that a play of words comes to be reliſhed. At that period of the Roman language Plautus wrote. His wit conſiſts almoſt entirely in a play of words, an eternal jingle, words brought together that have nearly the ſame ſound, with different meanings, and words of different ſounds that have the ſame meaning. As the Greek language had arrived to its perfection many years before, ſuch falſe wit may be juſtly aſcribed to Plautus himſelf, not to the

[u] Chap. 13.

Greeks

Greeks from whom he copied. What was the period of that baſtard wit in Greece, I know not; but it appears not to have been antiquated in Homer's days, witneſs the joke in the Odyſſey, where Ulyſſes impoſed upon Polyphemus by calling himſelf Houtis or No-man. Nor ſeems it to have been antiquated in the days of Euripides, who in his Cyclops repeats the ſame ſilly joke. The Roman genius ſoon purged their compoſitions of ſuch infantine beauties; for in Terence, who wrote about fifty years later than Plautus, there is ſcarce a veſtige of them. The dialogue beſide of Terence is more natural and correct, not a word but to the purpoſe: Plautus is full of tautologies, and digreſſions very little to the purpoſe. In a word, conſidering the ſlow progreſs of arts, the Roman theatre, from the time of Plautus to that of Terence, made as rapid a progreſs as perhaps ever happened in any country. Ariſtotle defines comedy to be an imitation of light and trivial ſubjects provoking laughter. The comedies of Plautus correſpond accurately to that definition: thoſe of Terence riſe to a higher tone.

Beſide the diſadvantages of the maſk and pipe mentioned above, there are two cauſes that tended to keep back the Greek and Roman comedy from the perfection of its kind. The firſt is the ſlow progreſs of ſociety among theſe nations, occaſioned by debarring the female ſex from it. Without a mixture of the two ſexes ſociety can never arrive at any degree of refinement, not to talk of perfection. That mixture brings to light every latent talent and every variety of character. To judge from ancient writers, man was a very plain being. Tacitus

wrote

wrote when ſociety between the ſexes was abundantly free; and in no author before him is to be found any thing beyond the outlines of character. In ancient comedies there are miſers, lovers, paraſites, procurers; but the individuals of each claſs are caſt in the ſame mould. In the Rudens of Plautus, it is true, a miſer is painted with much anxiety about his hidden treaſure, every triffling incident being converted by him into a cauſe of ſuſpicion; but he is ſtill the ſame miſer that is painted by others, without any ſhade or ſingularity in the character. Homer is the only ancient that deſerves to be excepted: his heroes have all courage; but courage in each is clearly of a different kind. Knowledge of an endleſs variety of character in the human ſpecies, acquired from unreſtrained ſociety, has enabled the moderns to enrich the theatre with new characters without end. What elſe is it but defect of knowledge in the diſpoſitions of men that has confined Plautus and Terence, like the Italian comedy, to a very few characters?

Nothing is more evident than the ſuperiority of Terence above Plautus in the art of writing; and conſidering that Terence is a later writer, nothing would appear more natural, if they did not copy the ſame originals. It may be owing to genius that Terence excelled in purity of language, and propriety of dialogue: but how account for his ſuperiority over Plautus in the conſtruction and conduct of a play? It will not certainly be thought, that Plautus would imitate the worſt-conſtructed plays, leaving the beſt to thoſe who ſhould come after him. This difficulty has not occurred to any of the commentators, ſo far as I can recollect. Had

the works of Menander and of his cotemporaries been preſerved, they probably would have explained the myſtery; which for want of that light will probably remain a myſtery for ever.

Homer has for more than two thouſand years been held the prince of poets. Such perfection in an author who flouriſhed when arts were far ſhort of maturity, is ſurpriſing, is miraculous. An author of genius [x] has endeavoured to account for this extraordinary phenomenon; and I willingly acknowledge, that he has exerted much induſtry, as well as invention; but, in my apprehenſion, without giving much ſatisfaction. The new light that is thrown above upon the Greek theatre has encouraged me to attempt a criticiſm on the Iliad, in order to judge whether Homer has ſo far anticipated the ordinary progreſs of nature, as, in a very early period, to have arrived at the perfection of his art.

To form a good writer, genius and judgment muſt concur. Nature ſupplies the former; but to the latter inſtruction and imitation are eſſential. Shakeſpeare lived in an age that afforded him little opportunity to cultivate or improve his judgment; and though inimitable in every article that depends on genius, there are found many defects in the conduct of his plays, and in other particulars that require judgment ripened by experience. Homer lived in a rude age, little advanced in uſeful arts, and ſtill leſs in civilization and enlarged benevolence. The nations engaged in the Trojan war are deſcribed by him as in a progreſs from the ſhepherd-

[x] Eſſay on the Life and Writings of Homer.

ſtate

ſtate to that of agriculture. Frequent mention is made in the Iliad of the moſt eminent men being ſhepherds. Andromaché, in particular, mentions [y] ſeven of her brethren who were ſlain by Achilles as they tended their father's flocks and herds. In that ſtate, garments of woollen cloth were uſed; but the ſkins of beaſts, the original clothing, were ſtill worn as an upper garment: every chief in the Iliad appears in that dreſs. Such, indeed, was the ſimplicity of this early period, that a black ewe was promiſed by each chief to the man who would undertake to be a ſpy. In times of ſuch ſimplicity, literature could not be far advanced; and it is a great doubt, whether there was at that time a ſingle poem of the epic kind for Homer to imitate or improve upon. Homer is undoubtedly a wonderful genius, perhaps the greateſt that ever exiſted: his fire, and the boldneſs of his conceptions, are inimitable. But in that early age, it would fall little ſhort of a real miracle, to find ſuch ripeneſs of judgment, and correctneſs of execution, as in modern writers are the fruits of long experience, and progreſſive improvements, during the courſe of many centuries. Homer is far from being ſo ripe, or ſo correct. I ſhall mention but two or three particulars; for to dwell upon the imperfections of ſo eminent an author is not pleaſant. The firſt is, that he reduces his heroes to be little better than puppets. Not one of them performs an action of eclat, but with the aſſiſtance of ſome deity: even Achilles himſelf is every where aided by ſuperior powers.

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y Book 6.

It is Jupiter who inſpires Hector with boldneſs to perform the illuſtrious actions that are ſo finely deſcribed in the 15th book; and it is Jupiter, who, changing ſides, fills his heart with diſmay. Glaucus, deſperately wounded, ſupplicates Apollo, is miraculouſly healed, and returns to the battle perfectly ſound. Hector, ſtruck to the ground with a ſtone, and at the point of giving up the ghoſt, is cured by Apollo, and ſent back to the battle with redoubled vigour. Homer reſembles a ſect of Chriſtians, who hold, that a man can do nothing of himielf, but that God does all. Can Homer's admirers be ſo blind as not to perceive, that this ſort of machinery detracts from the dignity of his heroes, renders them leſs intereſting, and leſs worthy of admiration? Homer, however, is deſervedly ſuch a favourite, that we are prone to admit any excuſe. In days of ignorance, people are much addicted to the marvellous. Homer himſelf, it may be juſtly ſuppoſed, was infected with that weakneſs; and he certainly knew that his hearers would be enchanted with every thing wonderful and out of the common courſe of nature. Another particular is, his digreſſions without end, which draw our attention from the principal ſubject. I wiſh as good an apology could be made for them. Diomedes [z], for inſtance, meeting with Glaucus in the field of battle, and doubting, from his majeſtic air, whether he might not be an immortal, enquires who he was, declaring that he would not fight with a god. Glaucus lays hold of this very

[z] Book 6.

flight

ſlight opportunity, in the very heat of action, to give a long hiſtory of his family. In the mean time, the reader's patience is put to a trial, and his ardor cools. Agamemnon [a] deſiring advice how to reſiſt the Trojans, Diomedes ſprings forward; but before he offers advice, gives the hiſtory of all his progenitors, and of their characters, in a long train. And, after all, what was the ſage advice that required ſuch a preface? It was, that Agamemnon ſhould exhort the Greeks to fight bravely. At any rate, was Diomedes ſo little known, as to make it proper to ſuſpend the action at ſo critical a juncture for a genealogical hiſtory? There is a third particular, which juſtly merits cenſure; and that is, an endleſs number of minute circumſtances, eſpecially in the deſcription of battles, where they are the moſt improper. One capital beauty of an epic poem is, the ſelection of ſuch incidents and circumſtances as make a deep impreſſion, keeping ont of view every thing low or familiar [b]. An account of a ſingle battle employs the whole fifth book of the Iliad, and a great part of the ſixth: yet in the whole there is no general action; but unknown warriors, whom we never heard of before, killed at a diſtance with an arrow or a javelin; and every wound deſcribed with anatomical accuracy. The whole ſeventeenth book is employed in the conteſt about the dead body of Patroclus, ſtuffed with minute circumſtances, below the dignity of an epic poem. In ſuch ſcenes the reader is fatigued with endleſs particulars; and has

[a] Book 14. [b] Elements of Criticiſm, vol. 1, p. 232. edit. 5.

nothing

nothing to ſupport him but the melody of Homer's verſification. Gratitude would prompt one to apologize for an author who affords ſo much pleaſure: the only apology I can think of for the particulars laſt-mentioned is, that Homer had no good models to copy after; and that without good models it is in vain to expect maturity of judgment. In a word, Homer was a blazing ſtar, and the more to be admired, becauſe he blazed in an obſcure age. But that he ſhould in no degree be tainted with the imperfections of ſuch an age is a wild thought: it is ſcarce poſſible, but by ſuppoſing him to be more than man.

Particular cauſes that advance the progreſs of fine arts, as well as of uſeful arts, are mentioned in the firſt part of this Sketch, and to theſe I refer.

Having traced the progreſs of the fine arts toward maturity in a ſummary way, the decline of theſe arts comes next in order. An art, in its progreſs toward maturity, is greatly promoted by emulation; and, after arriving at maturity, its downfal is not leſs promoted by it. It is difficult to judge of perfection but by compariſon; and an artiſt, ambitious to outſtrip his predeceſſors, cannot ſubmit to be an imitator, but muſt ſtrike out ſomething new, which, in an art advanced to ripeneſs, ſeldom fails to be a degeneracy. This cauſe of the decline of the fine arts, I ſhall endeavour to illuſtrate by various inſtances. The perfection of vocal muſic is to accompany paſſion, and to enforce ſentiment. In ancient Greece, the province of muſic was well underſtood; which, being confined within its proper ſphere, had an enchanting influence. Harmony at that time was very little cultivated, becauſe

becauſe it was of very little uſe: melody reaches the heart, and it is by it chiefly that a ſentiment is enforced, or a paſſion ſoothed: harmony, on the contrary, reaches the ear only: and it is a matter of undoubted experience, that the moſt melodious airs admit but of very ſimple harmony. Artiſts, in later times, ignorant why harmony was ſo little regarded by the ancients, applied themſelves ſeriouſly to its cultivation; and they had been wonderfully ſucceſsful. But they have been ſucceſsful at the expence of melody; which, in modern compoſitions, generally ſpeaking, is loſt amid the blaze of harmony. Theſe compoſitions tickle the ear by the luxury of complicated ſounds, but make ſeldom any impreſſion on the heart. The Italian opera, in its form, reſembles the Greek tragedy, from which it is evidently copied; but very little in ſubſtance. In the latter, muſic being made ſubſervient to ſentiment, the dialogue is nervous and ſublime: in the former the whole weight is laid on muſic, and the dialogue, devoid of ſentiment, is weak and ſpiritleſs. Reſtleſs man knows no golden mean, but will be attempting innovations without end *. By the ſame ambition, architecture has viſibly declined from its perfection. The Ionic was the favourite order when architecture was in its height of glory. The Corinthian order came next; which, in attempting greater perfection,

* Corelli excells all the other moderns in combining harmony with melody. His melody could not be richer, without impoveriſhing the harmony; and his harmony could not be richer, without impoveriſhing the melody. And, therefore, if harmony is requiſite in any conſiderable degree, the productions of that author may be pronounced perfect.

has

has deviated from the true ſimplicity of nature; and the deviation is ſtill greater in the Compoſite order [c]. With reſpect to literary productions, the firſt eſſays of the Romans were very imperfect. We may judge of this from Plautus, whoſe compoſitions are abundantly rude, though much admired by his cotemporaries, being the beſt that exiſted at that time. The exalted ſpirit of the Romans hurried them on to the grand and beautiful; and literary productions of all kinds were in perfection when Auguſtus reigned. In attempting ſtill greater perfection, the Roman compoſitions became a ſtrange jumble of inconſiſtent parts; they were tumid and pompous, and, at the ſame time, full of antitheſes, conceit, and tinſel wit. Every thing new in the fine arts pleaſes, though leſs perfect than what we are accuſtomed to; and, for that reaſon, ſuch compoſitions were generally reliſhed. We ſee not by what gradual ſteps writers, after the time of Auguſtus, deviated from the patterns that were before them; for no book of any moment after that time is preſerved, till we come down to Seneca, in whoſe works nature and ſimplicity give place to artificial thought and baſtard wit. He was a great corrupter of the Roman taſte; and after him nothing was reliſhed but brilliant ſtrokes of fancy, with very little regard to ſentiment: even Virgil and Cicero made no figure in compariſon. Lucan has a forced elevation of thought and ſtyle, very difficult to be ſupported; and, accordingly, he ſinks often into puerile reflections; witneſs, his

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c Elements of Criticiſm, vol. 1, p. 206. edit, 5.

encomium

encomium on the river Po, which, ſays he, would equal the Danube, had it the ſame number of tributary ſtreams. Quintilian, a writer of true and claſſical taſte, who was protected and encouraged by Veſpaſian, attempted to ſtem the tide of falſe writing. His rhetoric is compoſed in an elegant ſtyle; and his obſervations contain every delicacy of the critical art. At the ſame time flouriſhed Tacitus, poſſeſſing a more extenſive knowledge of the nature of man, than any other author, ancient or modern, if Shakeſpeare be not excepted. His ſtyle is original, conciſe, compact; and comprehenſive; and, in what is properly called his hiſtory, perfectly correct and beautiful. He has been imitated by ſeveral, but never equalled by any. Brutus is ſaid to be the laſt of the Romans for love of liberty: Quintilian and Tacitus may be ſaid to be the laſt of the Romans for literary genius. Pliny the Younger is no exception: his ſtyle is affected, turgid, and full of childiſh brilliancy. Seneca and Pliny are proper examples of writers who ſtudy ſhow more than ſubſtance, and who make ſenſe yield to ſound. The difference between theſe authors and thoſe of the Auguſtan age reſembles the difference between Greek and Italian muſic. Muſic, among the Greeks, limited itſelf to the employment to which it is deſtined by nature, viz. to be the handmaid of ſenſe, to enforce, enliven, or ſweeten a ſentiment. In the Italian opera, the miſtreſs is degraded to be the handmaid; and harmony triumphs, with very little regard to ſentiment.

Another great cauſe that precipitates the downfal of every fine art is deſpotiſm. The reaſon is obvi-

ous; and there is a diſmal example of it in Rome, particularly with regard to eloquence. We learn from a dialogue accounting for the corruption of the Roman eloquence, that in the decline of the art it became faſhionable to ſtuff harangues with impertinent poetical quotations, without any view but ornament merely; and this alſo was long faſhionable in France. It happened unluckily for the Romans, and for the world, that the fine arts were at their height in Rome, and not much upon the decline in Greece, when deſpotiſm put an end to the republic. Auguſtus, it is true, retarded their fall, particularly that of literature; it being the politic of his reign to hide deſpotiſm, and to give his government an air of freedom. His court was a ſchool of urbanity, where people of genius acquired that delicacy of taſte, that elevation of ſentiment, and that purity of expreſſion, which characterize the writers of his time. He honoured men of learning, admitted them to his table, and was bountiful to them. It would be painful to follow the decline of the fine arts in Rome to their total extirpation. The tyranny of Tiberius, and of ſubſequent emperors, broke at laſt the elevated and independent ſpirit of the brave Romans, reduced them to abject ſlavery, and left not a ſpark of genius *. The ſcience of law is the only exception, as

* A ſingular perſecution was carried on by Pope Gregory, moſt improperly ſurnamed the Great, againſt the works of Cicero, Titus Livius, and Cornelius Tacitus, which in every corner of Chriſtendom were publicly burnt; and from that time there has not been ſeen a complete copy of any of theſe authors. This happened in the ſixth century: ſo ſoon had the Romans fallen, from the perfection of taſte and

as it flouriſhed even in the worſt of times: the Roman lawyers were a reſpectable body, and leſs the object of jealouſy than men of power and extenſive landed property. Among the Greeks alſo, a conquered people, the fine arts decayed; but not ſo rapidly as at Rome; the Greeks, farther removed from the ſeat of government, being leſs within the reach of a Roman tyrant. During their depreſſion, they were guilty of the moſt puerile conceits; witneſs, verſes compoſed in the form of an axe, an egg, wings, and ſuch like. The ſtyle of Greek authors in the reign of the Emperor Adrian is unequal, obſcure, ſtiff, and affected. Lucian is the only exception I am acquainted with.

We need ſcarce any other cauſe but deſpotiſm to account for the decline of ſtatuary and painting in Greece. Theſe arts had arrived at their utmoſt perfection about the time of Alexander the Great; and from that time they declined gradually with the vigour of a free people; for Greece was now enſlaved by the Macedonian power. It may in general be obſerved, that when a nation becomes ſtationary, in that degree of power which it acquires from its conſtitution and ſituation, the national ſpirit ſubſides, and men of talents become rare. It is ſtill

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and knowledge, to the moſt humbling barbarity. Nor was that the only perſecution of books on the ſcore of religion. Many centuries before, a ſimilar inſtance happened in China, directed by a fooliſh emperor. The Alexandrian library was twice conſumed by fire, once in the time of Julius Cæſar, and once in the time of the Calif Omar: what a profuſion of knowledge was loſt paſt redemption! And yet, upon the whole, it ſeems doubtful, whether the moderns have ſuffered by theſe events. At what corner of a library ſhall a man begin, where he ſees an infinity of books, choice ones too? Even the moſt reſolute would be deterred from reading at all.

worſe with a nation that is ſunk below its former power and pre-eminence; and worſt of all when it is reduced to ſlavery. Other cauſes concurred to accelerate the downfal of the arts mentioned. Greece, in the days of Alexander, was filled with ſtatues of excellent workmanſhip; and there being little demand for more, the later ſtatuaries were reduced to heads and buſts. At laſt the Romans put a total end both to ſtatuary and painting in Greece, by plundering it of its fineſt pieces; and the Greeks, expoſed to the avarice of the conquerors, beſtowed no longer any money on the fine arts. Winckelman, overlooking the cauſes mentioned, borrows from Velleius Paterculus a reaſon for the decline of the fine arts in Greece, not a little ridiculous. "Naturaque, quod ſummo ſtudio petitum "eſt, aſcendit in ſummum; difficiliſque in perfecto "mora eſt; naturaliterque, quod procedere non "poteſt, recedit[e]." "The idea (ſays Winckel-"man) of beauty could not be made more perfect; "and thoſe arts which could not advance farther, "become retrograde, by a fatality attending all "human things, viz. that if they cannot mount, "they muſt fall down, becauſe ſtability is not a "quality of any created thing."

The decline of the fine arts in Rome is by a writer of taſte and elegance aſcribed to a cauſe different from any above mentioned, a cauſe that overwhelms manhood as well as the fine arts where-ever it prevails; and that is opulence, joined with its faithful attendants avarice and luxury. It would be

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[e] Roman Hiſtory, lib. 1.

doing

doing injuſtice to that author to refuſe him in his native language. " Priſcis temporibus, quum ad-
" huc nuda virtus placeret, vigebant artes ingenuæ;
" ſummumque certamen inter homines erat, ne
" quid profuturum ſeculis diu lateret. Itaque,
" Hercules! omnium herbarum ſuccos Democritus
" expreſſit: et ne lapidum virgultorumque vis la-
" teret, ætatem inter experimenta conſumpſit.
" Eudoxus quidem in cacumine excelſiſſimi montis
" conſenuit, ut aſtrorum cœlique motus deprehen-
" deret: et Chryſippus, ut ad inventionem ſuffici-
" ret, ter helleboro animum deterſit. Verum ut
" ad plaſtas convertar, Lyſippum ſtatuæ unius li-
" neamentis inhærentem inopia extinxit: et My-
" ron, qui pene hominum animas ferarumque ære
" comprehenderat, non invenit heredem. At nos,
" vino ſcortiſque demerſi, ne paratas quidem artes
" audemus cognoſcere; ſed accuſatores antiquitatis,
" vitia tantum docemns, et diſcimus. Ubi eſt dia-
" lectica? ubi aſtronomia? ubi ſapientiæ conſultiſ-
" ſima via? Quis unquam venit in templum, et
" votum fecit ſi ad eloquentiam perveniſſet? quis,
" ſi philoſophiæ fontem inveniſſet? Ac ne bonam
" quidem mentem, aut bonam valetudinem petunt:
" ſed ſtatim, antequam limen capitolii tangunt, a-
" lius donum promittit ſi propinquum divitem ex-
" tulerit; alius, ſi theſaurum effoderit; alius, ſi
" ad trecenties H—S. ſalvus pervenerit. Ipſe ſe-
" natus, recti bonique præceptor, mille pondo auri
" capitolio promittere ſolet: et ne quis dubitet pe-
" cuniam concupiſcere, Jovem quoque peculio ex-
" orat. Nolito ergo mirari, ſi pictura defecit, quum
" omnibus diis hominibuſque formoſior videatur
" maſſa auri, quam quidquid Apelles Phidiaſve fe-
" cerunt."

" cerunt[f] *." In England, the fine arts are far from ſuch perfection as to ſuffer by opulence. They are in a progreſs, it is true, toward maturity; but, gardening alone excepted, they proceed in a very ſlow pace.

There is a particular cauſe that never fails to undermine a fine art in a country where it is brought to perfection, abſtracting from every one of the cauſes above mentioned. In the firſt part of the

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[f] Petronius Arbiter.

* " In ancient times, when naked virtue had her admirers, the " liberal arts were in their higheſt vigour; and there was a generous " conteſt among men, that nothing of real and permanent advantage " ſhould long remain undiſcovered. Democritus extracted the juice " of every herb and plant, and, leſt the virtue of a ſingle ſtone or " twig ſhould eſcape him, he conſumed a life-time in experiments. " Eudoxus, immerſed in the ſtudy of aſtronomy, ſpent his age upon " the top of a mountain. Chryſippus, to ſtimulate his inventive fa- " culty, thrice purified his genius with hellebore. To turn to the " imitative arts: Lyſippus, while labouring on the forms of a ſingle " ſtatue, periſhed from want. Myron, whoſe powerful hand gave to " the braſs almoſt the ſoul of man, and animals,—at his death found " not an heir! Of us of modern times what ſhall we ſay? Immerſed " in drunkenneſs and debauchery, we want the ſpirit to cultivate " thoſe arts which we poſſeſs. We inveigh againſt the manners of " antiquity; we ſtudy vice alone; and vice is all we teach. Where " now is the art of reaſoning? where aſtronomy? where is the right " path of wiſdom? What man now-a-days is heard in our temples " to make a vow for the attainment of eloquence, or for the diſcove- " ry of the fountain of true philoſophy? Nor do we even pray for " health of body, or a ſound underſtanding. One, while he has " ſcarce entered the porch of the temple, devotes a gift in the event " of the death of a rich relation; another prays for the diſcovery of a " treaſure; a third for a miniſterial fortune. The ſenate itſelf, the " exemplary preceptor of what is good and laudable, has promiſed a " thouſand pounds of gold to the capitol; and, to remove all re- " proach from the crime of avarice, has offered a bribe to Jupiter " himſelf. How ſhould we wonder that the art of painting has de- " clined, when, in the eyes both of the gods and men, there is more " beauty in a maſs of gold, than in all the works of Phidias and A- " pelles?"

preſent

preſent ſketch it is remarked, that nothing is more fatal to an art or to a ſcience than a performance ſo much ſuperior to all of the kind as to extinguiſh emulation. This remark is exemplified in the great Newton, who, having ſurpaſſed all the ancients, has not left to his countrymen even the fainteſt hope of rivalling him; and to that cauſe is attributed the viſible decline of mathematics in Great Britain. The ſame cauſe would have been fatal to the arts of ſtatuary and painting among the Greeks, even though they had continued a free people. The decay of painting in modern Italy is, probably, owing to the ſame cauſe: Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian, &c. are lofty oaks that bear down young plants in their neighbourhood, and intercept from them the ſunſhine of emulation. Had the art of painting made a ſlower progreſs in Italy, it might have there continued in vigour to this day. Velleius Paterculus ſays judiciouſly, "Ut primo ad "conſequendos quos priores ducimus accendimur; "ita, ubi aut præteriri ant æquari eos poſſe deſpe- "ravimus, ſtudium cum ſpe ſeneſcit; et quod ad- "ſequi non poteſt, ſequi deſinit: præteritoque eo "in quo eminere non poſſimus, aliquid in quo ni- "tamur conquirimus *."

The decline of an art or ſcience proceeding from the foregoing cauſe, is the moſt rapid where a ſtrict

* "As at firſt we are excited to emulate thoſe ſuperior models, ſo "when once we have loſt the hope of excelling, or even of equalling "them, our ambition fails us with our hopes: we ceaſe to purſue "what we cannot attain, and neglecting that ſtudy in which we are "debarred from arriving at excellence, we ſearch for a different field "of emulation."

compariſon

compariſon can be inſtituted between the works of different maſters. The ſuperiority of Newton above every other mathematician can be aſcertained with preciſion; and hence the ſudden decline of that ſcience in Great Britain. In Italy a talent for painting continued many years in vigour, becauſe no painter appeared with ſuch ſuperiority of genius as to carry perfection into every branch of the art. As one ſurpaſſed in deſigning, one in colouring, one in graceful attitudes, there was ſtill ſcope for emulation. But when at laſt there was not a ſingle perfection but what one or other maſter had excelled in, from that period the art began to languiſh. Architecture continued longer in vigour than painting, becauſe the principles of compariſon in the former are leſs preciſe than in the latter. The artiſt who could not rival his predeceſſors in an eſtabliſhed mode, ſought out a new mode for himſelf, which, though perhaps leſs elegant or perfect, was for a time ſupported by novelty.

Corruption of the Latin tongue makes a proper appendix to the decline of the fine arts in Rome. That the Latin tongue did not long continue in purity after the Emperor Auguſtus, is certain; and all writers agree, that the cauſe of its early corruption was a continual influx into Rome of men to whom the Latin was a foreign language. The reaſon is plauſible; but whether ſolid may juſtly be doubted. In all countries there are provincial dialects; which, however, tend not to corrupt the language of the capital, becauſe they are carefully avoided by all who pretend to ſpeak properly; and accordingly the multitude of provincials who flock to Paris and London have no effect to debaſe the language.

guage. The ſame probably was the caſe in old Rome, eſpecially with reſpect to ſtrangers, whoſe native tongue was totally different from that of Rome: their imperfect manner of ſpeaking Latin might be excuſed, but certainly was not imitated. Slaves in Rome had little converſation with their maſters, except in receiving orders or reproof; which had no tendency to vitiate the Latin tongue. The corruption of that tongue, and at laſt its death and burial, as a living language, were the reſult of two combined cauſes; of which the early prevalence of the Greek language in Rome is the firſt. Latin was native to the Romans only, and to the inhabitants of Latium. The languages of the reſt of Italy were numerous: the Meſſapian was the mother-tongue in Aupulia, the Hetruſcan in Tuſcany and Umbria, the Greek in Magna Græcia, the Celtic in Lombardy and Liguria, &c. &c. Latin had arrived at its purity not many years before the reign of Auguſtus; and had not taken deep root in thoſe parts of Italy where it was not the mother-tongue, when Greek came to be the faſhionable language among people of rank, as French is in Europe at preſent. Greek, the ſtorehouſe of learning, prevailed in Rome, even in Cicero's time; of which he himſelf bears teſtimony in his oration for the poet Arachias. "Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus; Latina ſuis finibus, exiguis ſane, continentur." And for that reaſon Atticus is warmly ſollicited by him to write the hiſtory of his conſulſhip in Greek. Thus Latin, joſtled by Greek out of its place, was left to inferiors; and, probably, would have ſunk to utter oblivion, even though the republic had continued in vigour. But

the chief cauſe was the deſpotiſm of the Roman government, which proved the deſtruction of the fine arts, and of literature in particular. In a country of ſo many different languages the Latin tongue could not be preſerved in purity, but by a conſtant peruſal of Roman claſſics: but theſe were left to rot in libraries, a dark cloud of ignorance having overſpread the whole empire. Every perſon careleſsly ſpoke the language acquired in the nurſery; and people of different tongues being mixed under one government, without a common ſtandard, fell gradually into a ſort of mixed language, which every one made a ſhift to underſtand. The irruption of many barbarous nations into Italy, ſeveral of whom ſettled there, added to the jargon. And that jargon, compoſed of many heterogeneous parts was, in proceſs of time, purified to the tongue that is now native to all the inhabitants of Italy.

In a hiſtory of the Latin tongue, it ought not to be overlooked, that it continued long in purity among the Roman lawyers. The ſcience of law was in Rome more cultivated than in any other country. The books writ upon that ſcience in Latin were numerous; and, being highly regarded, were the conſtant ſtudy of every man who aſpired to be an eminent lawyer. Neither could ſuch men have any bias to the Greek tongue, as law was little cultivated in Greece. Thus it happened, that the Latin tongue, ſo far as concerns law, was preſerved in purity, even to the time of the Emperor Juſtinian.

Greek was preſerved in purity much longer than Latin. The ſame Language was ſpoken through all Greece, with ſome ſlight varieties in dialect. It was brought to great perfection and firmly rooted during

during the proſperous days of Greece. Its claſſics were numerous, and the ſtudy of every perſon who pretended to literature *. Now, though the free and manly ſpirit of the Greeks yielded to Roman deſpotiſm, yet while any appetite for literature remained, their invaluable claſſics were a ſtandard, which preſerved the language in purity. But ignorance at length became univerſal, and the Greek claſſics ceaſed to be a ſtandard, being buried in libraries, as the Roman claſſics had been for centuries. In that ſtate, the Greek tongue could not fail to degenerate, among an ignorant and ſervile people, who had no longer any ambition to act well, write well, or ſpeak well. And yet, after all, that beautiful tongue, far beyond a rival, has ſuffered leſs alteration than any other ever did in ſimilar circumſtances; one cauſe of which is, that to this day the Greeks live ſeperate from their maſters the Turks, and have little commerce with them.

From the fate of the Latin tongue, an obſervation is drawn by many writers, that all languages are in a continual flux, changing from age to age without end. And ſuch as are fond of fame, deplore it as a heavy misfortune, that the language in which they write will ſoon become obſolete and unintelligible. But it is a common error in reaſoning, to found a general concluſion upon a ſingle fact. In its progreſs toward perfection, a language is continually improving, and therefore continually changing. But ſuppoſing a language to have ac-

* There ſtill remain about three thouſand Greek books: of Latin books not above ſixty.

quired its utmoſt perfection, I ſee nothing that ſhould neceſſarily occaſion any change: on the contrary, the claſſical books in that language become a ſtandard for writing and ſpeaking, to which every man of taſte and figure conforms himſelf. Such was the caſe of the Greek tongue, till that people were brutified by deſpotiſm: the Italian has continued in perfection more than three centuries, and the French more than one. The Engliſh language has not yet acquired all the purity it is ſuſceptible of: but when there is no place for further improvements, there ſeems little doubt of its becoming ſtationary, like the languages now mentioned. I bar always ſuch a revolution as eradicates knowledge, and reduces a people to a ſtate of barbarity. In an event ſo diſmal, the deſtruction of claſſical books, and of a pure language, will not be the chief calamity: they will be little regretted in the univerſal wreck. In the man time, to a writer of genius in a poliſhed nation it cannot but be a charming proſpect, that his works will ſtand and fall with his country. To make ſuch a writer exert his talents for purifying his mother-tongue, and for adding to the number and reputation of its claſſics, what nobler encitement, than the certainty of being tranſmitted to poſterity, and welcomed by every perſon of taſte through all ages!

As, before the invention of printing, writers could have nothing in view but reputation and praiſe, they endeavoured to give the utmoſt perfection to their compoſitions. They at the ſame time ſtudied brevity, in order that their works might be diffuſed through many hands; for the expence of tranſcribing great volumes could not be afforded by every

every reader. The art of printing has made a great change: the opportunity it furniſhes to multiply copies has degraded writing to be a lucrative employment. Authors now ſtudy to ſwell their works, in order to ſwell the price; and being in a hurry for money, they neglect the precept of Horace, "Nonum prematur in annum." Take for example the natural hiſtory of Aldrovandus, in many folio volumes. After filling his common-place book with paſſages from every author, ancient and modern, to the purpoſe and not to the purpoſe, he ſits down to compoſe, bent to transfuſe into his book every article thus painfully collected. For example, when he introduces the ox, the cock, or any other animal; far from confining himſelf to its natural hiſtory, he omits nothing that has been ſaid of it in books where it has been occaſionally introduced, not even excepting tales for amuſing children: he mentions all the ſuperſtitious notions concerning it, every poetical compariſon drawn from it, the uſe it has ſerved in hieroglyphics and in coats-armorial; in a word, all the hiſtories and all the fables in which it has been named. Take another inſtance from a German or Dutch chronologer, whoſe name has eſcaped me, and which I give in a tranſlation from the Latin, to prevent the bias that one has for a learned language. "Samſon was the ſame with "the Theben Hercules; which appears from the "actions attributed to each of them, eſpecially "from the following, That Hercules, unarmed, is "ſaid to have ſuffocated the Nemean lion with a "ſqueeze of his arms: Samſon unarmed did the "ſame, by tearing a lion to pieces; and Joſephus "ſays, that he did not tear the lion, but put out "his

" his breath with a ſqueeze; which could be done, " and was done by Scutileus the wreſtler, as re- " ported by Suidas. David alſo, unarmed, tore to " pieces a lion, 1 Samuel, chap. xvii; and Bena- " iah the ſon of Jehojada alſo ſlew a lion, 2 Samu- " el, chap. xxiii. ver. 20. Moreover we read, " that Samſon, having caught three hundred foxes, " tied lighted firebrands to their tails, and drove " them into the ſtanding corn of the Philiſtines, by " which both the ſhocks and ſtanding corn, with " the vineyards and olives, were burnt up. Many " think it incredible, that three hundred foxes " ſhould be caught by one man; as the fox, being " the moſt cunning of all animals, would not ſuf- " fer itſelf to be eaſily taken. Accordingly Oppi- " an, a Greek poet, who writes upon hunting, " aſſerts, that no fox will ſuffer itſelf to be taken in " a gin or a net; though we are taught the con- " trary by Martial, lib. 10. epig. 37.

" Hic oldium clamoſus ages in retia vulpem.

" In India, eagles, hawks, and ravens, are " taught to hunt foxes, as we are informed by O- " lianus, Var. hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 26. They are " alſo caught by traps and ſnares, and in covered " pits, as wolves are, and other large animals. " Nor is it wonderful that ſuch a multitude of foxes " were caught by Samſon, conſidering that Paleſ- " tine abounded with foxes. He had hunters " without number at command; and he was not " confined in time. The fame of that exploit was " ſpread far and near. Even among the Romans " there were veſtiges of it, as appears from Ovid,

" Faſt.

" Faſt. lib. 9. ver. 681. In one Roman feſtival, " armed foxes were let looſe in the Circus; which " Ovid, in the place quoted, ſays, was done in " memory of the Carſiolan fox, which, having " deſtroyed many hens belonging to a country- " woman, was caught by her, and puniſhed as fol- " lows. She wrapped up the fox in hay, which ſhe " ſet fire to; and the fox being let go, fled through " the ſtanding corn, and ſet it on fire. There can " be no doubt but that this feſtival was a veſtige of " Samſon's foxes, not only from congruity of cir- " cumſtances, but from the time of celebration, " which was the month of April, the time of har- " veſt in Paleſtine. [See more about foxes in " Burman's works."] Not to mention the ridicu- lous arguments of this writer to prove Samſon to be the ſame with the Theban Hercules, nor the childiſh wanderings from that ſubject, every one muſt be ſenſible of his having overlooked the chief difficulty. However well fixed the fire-brands might be, it is not eaſily conceivable, that the foxes, who would naturally fly to their lurking-holes, could much injure the corn, or the olive trees. And it is as little conceivable, what ſhould have moved Samſon to employ foxes, when, by our author's ſuppoſition, he had men at command, much better qualified than foxes for committing waſte. This author would have ſaved himſelf much idle labour, had he embraced a very probable opinion, that if the tranſlation be not erroneous, the original text muſt be corrupted. But enough, and more than enough, of theſe writers. Matu- rity of taſte has baniſhed ſuch abſurdities; and, at preſent, happily, books are leſs bulky, and more to the purpoſe, than formerly. It

It is obſerved above [a], that in a country thinly peopled, where the ſame perſon muſt, for bread, undertake different employments, the people are knowing and converſable; but ſtupid and ignorant in a populous country, where induſtry and manufactures abound. That obſervation holds not with reſpect to the fine arts. It requires ſo much genius to copy even a ſingle figure, whether in painting or in ſculpture, as to prevent the operator from degenerating into a brute. The great exertion of genius, as well as of invention, required in grouping figures, and in imitating human actions, tends to invigorate thoſe faculties with reſpect to every ſubject, and, of courſe, to form a man of parts.

Such ſketches of the hiſtory of man as tend the moſt to explain his nature, are chiefly inſiſted on in this work. The hiſtory of muſic is entertaining, that branch eſpecially which compares ancient and modern muſic; and accordingly I have occaſionally handled that branch above. The other branches fall not properly within my plan; becauſe they ſeem to afford little opening into human nature. There is one article, however, which regard to my native country will not ſuffer me to omit. We have, in Scotland, a multitude of ſongs, tender and pathetic, expreſſive of love in its varieties of hope, fear, ſucceſs, deſpondence, and deſpair. The ſtyle of the muſic is wild and irregular, extremely pleaſant to the natives, but little reliſhed by the bulk of thoſe who are accuſtomed to the regularity of the Italian ſtyle. None but men of ge-

[a] Firſt ſection of the preſent Sketch,

nius,

nius, who ſtudy nature, and break looſe from the thraldom of cuſtom, eſteem that muſic. It was a favourite of the late Geminiani, whoſe compoſitions ſhew no leſs delicacy of taſte, than ſuperiority of genius, and it is warmly praiſed by Aleſſandro Taſſoni, the celebrated author of Secchia Rapita. Diſcourſing of ancient and modern muſic, and quoting from various authors the wonderful effects produced by ſome modern compoſitions, he ſubjoins the following paſſage: "Noi ancora paſ-
"ſiamo connumerar trà noſtri, Jacopo Rè de Sco-
"zia, che non pur coſe ſacre compoſe in canto,
"ma trovò da ſeſteſſo una nuova muſica lamente-
"vole e meſta, differente da tutte l'altre. Nel
"che poi è ſtato imitato da Carlo. Geſualdo
"Principe di Venoſa, che in queſta noſtra età hà
"illuſtrata anch' egli la muſica con nuova mirabili
"invenzioni [b] *." The king mentioned muſt be James I. of Scotland, the only one of our kings who ſeems to have had any remarkable taſte in the fine arts; and the muſic can be no other than the ſongs mentioned above. Theſe are commonly thought to be the compoſition of David Rizzio, becauſe he was an Italian and a muſician; but erroneouſly, as we now diſcover from Taſſoni. That King was eminent for poetry, no leſs than for

b Penſieri diverſi, lib. 10. cap. 23.

* "We may reckon, among the compoſers of the moderns, James
"King of Scotland, who not only compoſed ſacred ſongs, but was
"himſelf the inventor of a new ſtyle of muſic, plaintive and pathetic,
"different from all others. In this manner of compoſition he has
"been imitated in our times by Carlo Geſualdo, Prince of Venoſa,
"who has illuſtrated that ſtyle of muſic with new and wonderful in-
"vention."

muſic. He is praiſed for the former by Biſhop Leſlie, one of our hiſtorians, in the following words: "Patrii carminis gloriâ nulli ſecundus." We have many poems aſcribed by tradition to that King; one in particular, Chriſt's Kirk on the Green, is a ludicrous poem, deſcribing low manners, with no leſs propriety than ſprightlineſs.

Uſeful arts will never be neglected in a country where there is any police; for every man finds his account in them. Fine arts are more precarious. They are not reliſhed but by perſons of taſte, who are rare; and ſuch as can ſpare great ſums for ſupporting them are ſtill more rare. For that reaſon, they will never flouriſh in any country, unleſs patronized by the ſovereign, or by men of power and opulence. They merit ſuch patronage as one of the ſprings of government: and a capital ſpring they make, by multiplying amuſements, and humanizing manners; upon which account they have always been encouraged by good princes.

## SKETCH VI.

### Progreſs of the FEMALE SEX.

THE hiſtory of the female ſex, a capital branch of the hiſtory of man, comprehends great variety of matter, curious and intereſting. But ſketches are my province, not complete hiſtories; and I propoſe, in the preſent ſketch, to trace the gradual progreſs of women, from their low ſtate in ſavage tribes, to their elevated ſtate in civilized nations.

With

With regard to the outlines, whether of internal diſpoſition, or of external figure, men and women are preciſely the ſame. Nature, however, intending them for mates, has given them characters different, but concordant, ſo as to produce together delicious harmony. The man, naturally more robuſt, is fitted for ſevere labour and for field-exerciſes; the woman for ſedentary occupations; and particularly for nurſing children. To that difference the mind alſo contributes. A boy is always running about; delights in a top or a ball; and rides upon a ſtick for want of a horſe. A girl has leſs inclination to move: her firſt amuſement is a baby; which ſhe delights to dreſs and undreſs. The man, bold and vigorous, is qualified for being a protector: the woman, delicate and timid, requires protection. The man, as a protector, is directed by nature to govern: the woman, conſcious of inferiority, is diſpoſed to obedience. Their intellectual powers correſpond to the deſtination of nature: men have penetration and ſolid judgment to fit them for governing: women have ſufficient underſtanding to make a decent figure under good government; a greater proportion would excite dangerous rivalſhip. Add another capital difference of character: the gentle and inſinuating manners of the female ſex tend to ſoften the roughneſs of the other ſex; and where-ever women are indulged with any freedom, they poliſh ſooner than men.

Theſe are not the only particulars that diſtinguiſh the ſexes. With reſpect to matrimony, it is the privilege of the male, as ſuperior and protector, to make a choice: the female preferred has no privilege, but barely to conſent or to refuſe.

Nature fits them for their different parts: the male is bold, the female baſhful. Hence, among all nations, it is the practice for men to court, and for women to be courted: which holds alſo among many other animals, probably among all that pair.

Another diſtinction is equally viſible: the maſter of a family is immediately connected with his country; his wife, his children, his ſervants, are immediately connected with him, and with their country, through him only. Women, accordingly, have leſs patriotiſm than men: and leſs bitterneſs againſt the enemies of their country.

The peculiar modeſty of the female ſex is alſo a diſtinguiſhing circumſtance. Nature hath provided them with it as their chief defence againſt the artful ſolicitations of the other ſex before marriage, and alſo the chief ſupport of conjugal fidelity. It is held to be their capital virtue; and a woman who ſurrenders her chaſtity is univerſally deſpiſed; though in a man chaſtity is ſcarce held to be a virtue, except in the married ſtate. But of that more fully afterwards.

A fundamental article in the preſent ſketch is, Matrimony; and it has been much controverted, whether it be an appointment of nature, or only of municipal law. Many writers have exerciſed their talents in that controverſy, but without giving any ſatisfaction to a judicious enquirer. If I miſtake not, it may be determined upon ſolid principles; and as it is of importance in the hiſtory of man, the reader, I am hopeful, will not be diſguſted at the length of the argument.

Many writers hold, that women were originally common; and animal love was gratified as among horſes

horſes and horned cattle; and that matrimony was not known till nations grew, in ſome degree, to be orderly and refined. I ſelect Cicero as an author of authority: "Nam fuit quoddam tempus, cum in "agris homines paſſim, beſtiarum more, vagaban-"tur, et ſibi victu ferino vitam propagabant: nec "ratione animi quicquam ſed pleraque viribus "corporis adminiſtrabant. Nondum divinæ reli-"gionis, non humani officii ratio colebatur. Ne-"mo legitimas viderit nuptias, non certos quiſ-"quam inſpexerat libros *[a]." Pliny, in ſupport of that doctrine, informs us, that the Garamantes, an African nation, lived promiſcuouſly together, without any notion of matrimony. Among the Auſes, a people of Libya, as Herodotus ſays, matrimony was not known, and men cohabited with women indifferently, like other animals. A boy educated by his mother was, at a certain age, admitted to an aſſembly of the men, and the man he clung to was reputed his father. Juſtin and other authors report, that, before Cecrops, who reigned in Attica about 1600 years before Chriſt, marriage was not known in Greece; and that the burden of children lay upon the mother.

Before entering directly into the matter, it is proper to remove, if poſſible, the bias of theſe great names. The practice of the Garamantes and

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* "For there was a time, when men, like the brutes, roamed a-"broad over the earth, and fed, like wild beaſts, upon other ani-"mals. Then reaſon bore no ſway, but all was ruled by ſuperior "ſtrength. The ties of religion, and the obligations of morality, "were then unfelt. Lawful marriage was unknown, and no father "was certain of his offspring."

a De Inventione, lib. i.

of

of the Auſes is mentioned by Pliny and Herodotus as ſingular; and, were it better vouched than it is, it would avail very little againſt the practice of all other nations. Little weight can be laid upon Pliny's evidence in particular, conſidering what he reports in the ſame chapter of the Blemmayans, that they had no head, and that the mouth and eyes were in the breaſt. Pliny, at the ſame time, as well as Herodotus, being very deficient in natural knowledge, was groſsly credulous; and cannot be relied on, with reſpect to any thing ſtrange or uncommon. As to what is reported of ancient Greece, Cecrops poſſibly prohibited polygamy, or introduced ſome other matrimonial regulation, which, by writers, might be miſtaken for a law appointing matrimony. However that be, one part of the report is undoubtedly falſe; for it will be made evident afterward, that, in the hunter-ſtate, or, even in that of ſhepherds, it is impracticable for any woman, by her own induſtry alone, to rear a numerous iſſue. If this be at all poſſible, it can only be in the torrid zone, where people live on fruits and roots, which are produced in plenty with very little labour. Upon that account Diodorus Siculus is leſs blameable for liſtening to a report, that the inhabitants of Taprobana, ſuppoſed to be the iſland of Ceylon, never marry, but that women are uſed promiſcuouſly. But as there is no ſuch practice known at preſent in the Eaſt Indies, there is no juſt ground to believe, that it ever was the practice; and the Eaſt Indies were ſo little known to the ancient Greeks, that their authors cannot be much relied on in the accounts they give of that diſtant region. The opinion of Cicero may

ſeem

ſeem to have more weight at firſt view; and yet a ſingle obſervation will reduce it to nothing. The notions of that author upon the primitive ſtate of man muſt confeſſedly be exceedingly crude, when he denies to ſavages any ſenſe of religion or of moral duty. Ought we to rely more on him, when he denies, that they have any notion of matrimony? Cæſar's account of the ancient Britons approaches the neareſt to a looſe commerce with women, though in the main it is good evidence againſt the opinion of Cicero. It was common, he ſays, for a number of brothers, or other near relations, to uſe their wives promiſcuouſly. The offspring, however, were not common; for each man maintained the children that were produced by his own wife. Herodotus reports the ſame of the Maſſagetæ.

Laying thus aſide the great names of Cicero, Herodotus, and Pliny, the field lies open to a fair and impartial inveſtigation. And as the means provided by nature for continuing the race of other animals may probably throw light upon the œconomy of nature with reſpect to man, I begin with that article, which has not engaged the attention of naturaliſts ſo much as it ought to do. With reſpect to animals whoſe nouriſhment is graſs, pairing would be of no uſe: the female feeds herſelf and her young at the ſame inſtant, and the male has nothing to do. On the other hand, all brute animals, whoſe young require the nurſing care of both parents, are directed by nature to pair; nor is that connection diſſolved till the young can provide for themſelves. Pairing is indiſpenſable to wild birds that build on trees; becauſe the male muſt provide food for his mate while ſhe is hatching

ing the eggs. And as they have commonly a numerous iſſue, it requires the labour of both to pick up food for themſelves and for their young. Upon that account it is ſo ordered, that the young are ſufficiently vigorous to provide for themſelves, before a new brood is produced.

What I have now opened ſuggeſts the following queſtion, Whether, according to the animal œconomy above diſplayed, are we to preſume, or not, that man is directed by nature to matrimony? If analogy can be relyed on, the affirmative muſt be held, as there is no other creature in the known world to which pairing is ſo neceſſary. Man is a long-lived animal, and is proportionally ſlow in growing to maturity: he is a helpleſs being before the age of fifteen or ſixteen, and there may be in a family ten or twelve children of different births before the eldeſt can ſhift for itſelf. Now in the original ſtate of hunting and fiſhing, which are laborious occupations, and not always ſucceſsful, a woman ſuckling her infant is not able to provide food even for herſelf, far leſs for ten or twelve voracious children. Matrimony, therefore, or pairing, be ſo neceſſary to the human race, that it muſt be natural and inſtinctive. When ſuch ample means are provided for continuing every other animal race, is it ſuppoſable that the chief race would be neglected? Providential care deſcends even to vegetable life: every plant bears a profuſion of ſeed; and in order to cover the earth with vegetables, ſome ſeeds have wings, ſome are ſcattered by means of a ſpring, and ſome are ſo light as to be carried about by the wind. Brute animals which do not pair, have graſs and other food in plenty, enabling

enabling the female to feed her young without needing any help from the male. But where the young require the nurſing care of both parents, pairing is a law of nature. When other races are ſo amply provided for, can it be ſeriouſly thought, that Providence is leſs attentive to the human race? If men and women were not impelled by nature to matrimony, they would be leſs fitted for continuing their ſpecies than even the humbleſt plant. Have we not reaſon fairly to conclude, that matrimony in the human race is an appointment of nature? Can that concluſion be reſiſted by any one who believes in Providence, and in final cauſes *?

To confirm this doctrine, let the conſequences of a looſe commerce between the ſexes be examined. The carnal appetite, when confined to one object, ſeldom tranſgreſſes the bounds of temperance. But were it encouraged to roam like a bee ſucking honey from every flower, every new object would inflame the imagination; and ſatiety with reſpect to one would give new vigour with reſpect to others: a generic habit would be formed of intemperance in fruition [b]; and animal love would become the ruling paſſion. Men, like the hart in rutting-time, would all the year round fly with impetuoſity from object to object, giving no quarter even to women ſuckling their infants: and wo-

* It appears a wiſe appointment of Providence, that women give over child-bearing at fifty, while they are ſtill in vigour of mind and body to take care of their offspring. Did the power of procreation continue in women to old age as in men, children would often be left in the wide world, without a mortal to look after them.

[b] Elements of Criticiſm, chap. 14.

men, abandoning themſelves to the ſame paſſion, would become altogether regardleſs of their offſpring. In that ſtate, the continuance of the human race would be a miracle. In the ſavage ſtate, as mentioned above, it is beyond the power of any woman to provide food for a family of children; and now it appears, that intemperance in animal love would render a woman careleſs of her family, however eaſy it might be to provide for it *.

I ſay more: The promiſcuous uſe of women would unqualify them in a great meaſure from procreating, or having a family. The carnal appetite in man reſembles his appetite for food: both of them demand gratification without end, after ſhort intervals. Where the carnal appetite is felt but a ſhort ſpace annually, as among animals who feed on graſs, the promiſcuous uſe of females is according to the order of nature: but ſuch a law in man, where the carnal appetite is always awake, would be an effectual bar to population; as it is an undoubted truth, that women who indulge that appetite to exceſs, ſeldom have children; and if all

* I have often been tempted to find fault with Providence in bringing ſo early to perfection the carnal appetite, while a man, ſtill in early youth, has acquired no degree of prudence nor of ſelf-command. It rages indeed the moſt when young men ſhould be employed in acquiring knowledge, and in fitting themſelves for living comfortably in the world. I have ſet this thought in various lights; but I now perceive that the cenſure is without foundation. The early ripeneſs of this appetite proves it to be the intention of Providence that people ſhould early ſettle in matrimony. In that ſtate the appetite is abundantly moderate, and gives no obſtruction to education. It never becomes unruly, till one, forgetting the matrimonial tie, wander from object to object. It is pride and luxury that dictate late marriages; induſtry never fails to afford the means of living comfortably, provided men confine themſelves to the demands of nature.

women

women were common, all women would in effect be common proſtitutes.

If undiſguiſed nature ſhows itſelf any where, it is in children. So truly is matrimony an inſtinct of nature, as to be underſtood even by children. They often hear, it is true, people talking of matrimony; but they alſo hear of logical, metaphyſical, and commercial matters, without underſtanding a ſyllable. Whence then their notion of marriage but from nature? Marriage at the ſame time is a compound idea, which no inſtruction could bring within the comprehenſion of a child, did not nature co-operate.

That the arguments urged above againſt a promiſcuous uſe of women do not neceſſarily conclude againſt polygamy, or the union of one man with a plurality of women, will not eſcape an attentive reader. St. Auguſtin and other fathers admit, that polygamy is not prohibited by the law of nature; and the learned Grotius profeſſes the ſame opinion [c]. But great names terrify me not; and I venture to maintain, that pairing in the ſtricteſt ſenſe is a law of nature among men as among wild birds; and that polygamy is a groſs infringement of this law. My reaſons follow.

I urge, in the firſt place, the equal number of males and females, as a clear indication of the will of God, that every man ſhould be confined to one wife, and every woman to one huſband. That equality which has ſubſiſted in all countries, and at all times, is a ſignal inſtance of over-ruling Provi-

[c] De jure belli ac pacis, lib. 2. cap. 5. § 9.

dence; for the chances againſt it are infinite. All men are by nature equal in rank; and every man conſequently is equally privileged to have a wife; which cannot be, if polygamy be permitted. Were ten women born for one man, as is falſely reported to be the caſe in Bantam, polygamy might be the intention of Providence; but from the equality of males and females, it is clearly the voice of nature, as well as of the ſacred ſcripture, "That a man ſhall leave his father and mother, "and cleave to his wife; and that they ſhall be one "fleſh."

Conſider, in the next place, that however plauſible polygamy may appear in the preſent ſtate of things, where inequality of rank and of fortune have produced luxury and ſenſuality; yet that the laws of nature were not contrived by our Maker for a forced ſtate, where numberleſs individuals are degraded below their natural rank, for the benefit of a few who are elevated above it. To form a juſt notion of polygamy, we muſt look back to the original ſtate of man, where all are equal. In that ſtate, every man cannot have two wives; and conſequently no man is intitled to more than one, till every other be upon an equal footing with him. At the ſame time, the union of one man with one woman is much better calculated for continuing the race, than the union of one man with many women. Think of a ſavage who may have fifty or ſixty children by different wives, all depending for food upon his induſtry. Chance muſt turn out much in his favour, if the half of them periſh not by hunger. How much a better chance for life have infants who are diſtributed more equally in different families? Polygamy

Polygamy is attended with an effect ſtill more pernicious, with reſpect to children even of the moſt opulent families. Unleſs affection be reciprocal and equal, there can be no proper ſociety in the matrimonial ſtate, no cordiality, nor due care of offspring. But ſuch affection is inconſiſtent with polygamy: a woman in that ſtate, far from being a companion to her huſband, is degraded to the rank of a ſervant, a mere inſtrument of pleaſure and propagation. Among many wives there will always be a favourite: the reſt turn peeviſh; and if they reſent not the injury againſt their huſband, and againſt their children as belonging to him, will at leaſt be diſheartened, and neglect them altogether. At the ſame time, fondneſs for the favourite wife and her children makes the huſband indifferent about the reſt; and woful is the condition of children who are neglected by both parents[d]. To produce ſuch an effect is certainly not the purpoſe of nature.

It merits peculiar attention, that Providence has provided for an agreeable union among all creatures who are taught by nature to pair. Animal love, among creatures who pair not, is confined within a narrow ſpace of time: while the dam is occupied about her young, animal love lies dormant, that ſhe may not be abſtracted from her duty. In pairing animals, on the contrary, animal love is always awake: frequent enjoyment endears a pair to each other, and makes conſtancy a pleaſure. Such is the caſe of the human race; and ſuch is the caſe of

[d] L'eſprit des loix, liv. 16. chap. 6.

wild

wild birds [c]. Among the wild birds that build on trees, the male, after feeding his mate in the neſt, plants himſelf upon the next ſpray, and chears her with a ſong. There is ſtill greater pleaſure provided for the human race in the matrimonial ſtate, and ſtronger incitements to conſtancy. Sweet is the ſociety of a pair fitted for each other, in whom are collected the affections of huſband, wife, lover, friend, the tendereſt affections of human nature. Public government is in perfection, when the ſovereign commands with humanity, and the ſubjects are cordial in their obedience. Private government in conjugal ſociety arrives at ſtill greater perfection, where huſband and wife govern and are governed reciprocally, with entire ſatisfaction to both. The man bears rule over his wife's perſon and conduct; ſhe bears rule over his inclinations: he governs by law; and ſhe by perſuaſion. Nor can her authority ever fail, where it is ſupported by ſweetneſs of temper, and zeal to make him happy *.

The

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[c] Buffon, liv. 5. p. 359. octavo edition.

* L'empire de la femme eſt un empire de douceur, d'adreſſé, et de complaiſance; ſes ordres ſont des careſſes, ſes menaces ſont des pleurs. Elle doit regner dans la maiſon comme un miniſtre dans l'etat, en ſe faiſant commander ce qu'elle veut faire. En ſe ſens il eſt conſtant que les meilleurs ménages ſont ceux où la femme a le plus d'autorité. Mais quand elle meconnoit la voix du chef. qu'elle veut uſurper ſes droits et commander elle-meme; il ne reſulte jamais de ce deſordre, que miſere, ſcandale, et deſhonneur. Rouſſeau Emile, liv. 5. p. 96,—[In Engliſh thus: "The empire of the woman is an "empire of ſoftneſs, of addreſs, of complacency; her commands "are careſſes, her menaces are tears. She ought to reign in the fa"mily like a miniſter in the ſtate, by making that which is her incli"nation be enjoined to her as her duty. Thus it is evident, that "the beſt domeſtic œconomy is that where the wife has moſt autho"rity. But when ſhe is inſenſible to the voice of her chief, when ſhe

The God of nature has enforced conjugal ſociety, not only by making it agreeable, but by the principle of chaſtity inherent in our nature. To animals that have no inſtinct for pairing, chaſtity is utterly unknown; and to them it would be uſeleſs. The mare, the cow, the ewe, the ſhe-goat, receive the male without ceremony, and admit the firſt that comes in the way without diſtinction. Neither have tame fowl any notion of chaſtity: they pair not; and the female gets no food from the male, even during incubation. But chaſtity and mutual fidelity are eſſential to all pairing animals; for wandering inclinations would render them negligent in nurſing their young. Wild birds pair; and they are by inſtinct faithful to each other while their young require nurture. Chaſtity and mutual fidelity in matrimony are equally eſſential to the human race, and equally enforced by the principle of chaſtity, a branch of the moral ſenſe.

Nor is chaſtity confined to the matrimonial ſtate. Matrimony is inſtituted by nature for continuing the ſpecies; and it is the duty of man to abſtain

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" ſhe tries to uſurp his prerogative, and to command alone, what " can reſult from ſuch diſorder, but miſery, ſcandal, and diſhon- " our ?"]—The Empreſs Livia being queſtioned by a married lady, how ſhe had obtained ſuch aſcendant over her huſband Auguſtus, anſwered, " By being obedient to his commands, by not wiſhing to " know his ſecrets, and by hiding my knowledge of his amours." The late Queen of Spain was a woman of ſingular prudence, and of ſolid judgment. A character of her, publiſhed after her death, contains the following paſſage: " She had a great aſcendency over the " King, founded on his perſuaſion of her ſuperior ſenſe, which ſhe " ſhowed in a perfect ſubmiſſion to his commands; the more eaſily o- " beyed, as they were commonly, though to him imperceptibly, " dictated by herſelf. She cured him of many foibles, and in a " word was his Minerva, under the appearance of Mentor."

from

from animal enjoyment except in that ſtate. The ceremonies of marriage, and the cauſes of ſeparation and divorce, are ſubjected to municipal law: but if a man beget children, it is his duty to unite with the mother in taking care of them; and ſuch union is matrimony according to the law of nature. Hence it is, that the firſt acts of incontinence, where enjoyment only is in view, are always attended with ſhame, and with a degree of remorſe. At the ſame time, as chaſtity in perſons who are ſingle is only a ſelf-duty, it is not ſo ſtrongly enforced by the moral ſenſe as chaſtity is in married perſons, who owe to each other mutual fidelity. Deviations accordingly from the former make a leſs figure than from the latter: we ſcarce ever hear of adultery among ſavages: though among them incontinence before marriage is not uncommon. In Wales, even at preſent, and in the highlands of Scotland, it is ſcarce a diſgrace for a young woman to have a baſtard. In the country laſt mentioned, the firſt inſtance known of a baſtard-child being deſtroyed by its mother through ſhame is a late one. The virtue of chaſtity appears to be there gaining ground; as the only temptation a woman can have to deſtroy her child is, to conceal her frailty. The principle of chaſtity, like that of propriety or of decency, is but faint among ſavages, and has little of that authority which it acquires among poliſhed nations before they are corrupted by luxury. We ſhall have occaſion to ſee afterward, that even the great duty of juſtice is but faint among barbarians, and yields too readily to every irregular impulſe, till the moral ſenſe acquires full maturity. Bougainville reports, that in the iſland of Otaheite, or

King

King George's iſland, a young woman is free to follow her inclinations, and that her having had many lovers gives her not the leſs chance for a huſband.

Chaſtity is no doubt a reſtraint upon nature; and therefore, if ſhame be removed, by making it lawful to obey the appetite, nature will prevail. In the year 1707, a contagious diſtemper having carried off a large proportion of the inhabitants of Iceland, the King of Denmark fell on a device to re-people the country, which ſucceeded to a wiſh. A law was made, authoriſing young women in that iſland to have baſtards, even to the number of ſix, without wounding their reputation *. The young women were ſo zealous to re-people their country, that, after a few years, it was found proper to abrogate the law.

Modeſty is by nature intended to guard chaſtity, as chaſtity is to guard matrimony. And modeſty, like chaſtity, is one of thoſe delicate principles that make no great figure among ſavages. In the land of Jeſſo, young women ſometimes go naked in ſummer: if, however, they meet a ſtranger, they hang the head, and turn away through ſhame. Nature here is their only inſtructor †. Some ſavage tribes have ſo little notion of modeſty, as to go

* Don Juan de Ulloa, in his voyage to Peru, mentions a very ſingular taſte prevalent in that country, that a man never takes a virgin to wife; and thinks himſelf diſhonoured if his wife has not, before marriage, enjoyed many lovers. If we can truſt Paulus Venetus, a young woman of Thibet, in Aſia, is not reckoned fit to be married till ſhe be deflowered.

† Doth not modeſty prevail among many animals? Elephants are never ſeen in copulation, nor cats, nor beaſts of prey.

naked, without even covering their private parts. Regnard reports, upon his own knowledge, that in Lapland, man, woman, and child, take the hot bath promiſcuouſly, and are not aſhamed to be ſeen in that condition, even by a ſtranger. As this appeared ſingular, I took opportunity to mention it to Dr. Solander, who made more than one viſit to that country. He ſaid, that Regnard's report might be true, but without any imputation on the modeſty of the Laplanders; for that their place of bathing is always ſo dark, that nothing can be ſeen. He added, that the females in Lapland, both married and unmarried, are extremely chaſte. The inhabitants of Otaheite, though otherwiſe a good ſort of people, ſeem to have as little notion of modeſty as of chaſtity. We have Bougainville's authority, that they frankly offered their young women to the French, and were greatly ſurpriſed when they declined performing in public. The women of New Zeland are both chaſte and modeſt. In Lieutenant Cook's Voyage round the World, it is reported, that he ſtumbled upon ſome of them naked, ſearching for lobſters in the ſea; and that they were in great confuſion for being ſeen in this condition by ſtrangers.

But now, if pairing in the ſtricteſt ſenſe be a law of nature among men, as among ſome other animals, how is polygamy to be accounted for, which formerly was univerſal, and to this day obtains among many nations? I am reduced to no dilemma here. Polygamy is derived from two ſources; firſt, from ſavage manners, once univerſal; and next, from voluptuouſneſs in warm climates, which inſtigates men of wealth to tranſgreſs every rule

rule of temperance. Theſe two ſources I propoſe to handle with care, becauſe they make a great part of the hiſtory of the female ſex.

With reſpect to the firſt, ſweetneſs of temper, a capital branch of the female character, diſplays itſelf externally, by mild looks, and gentle manners. But ſuch graces are ſcarce perceptible in a female ſavage; and even in the moſt poliſhed would not be perceived by a male ſavage. Among ſavages ſtrength and boldneſs are the only valued qualities: in theſe qualities females are miſerably deficient; and for that reaſon are contemned by the males, as beings of an inferior order. The North-American tribes glory in idleneſs: the drudgery of labour degrades a man in their opinion, and is proper for women only. To join young perſons in marriage is accordingly the buſineſs of parents; and it would be unpardonable meanneſs in the bridegroom to ſhew any fondneſs for the bride. Young men among the Hottentots are admitted into ſociety with their ſeniors at the age of eighteen; after which it is diſgraceful to keep company with females. In Guiana, a woman never eats with her huſband; but after every meal attends him with water for waſhing. A woman in the Caribbee iſlands is not permitted to eat even in the preſence of her huſband; and yet we are aſſured [f], that the women there obey with ſuch ſweetneſs and reſpect, as never to give their huſbands occaſion to remind them of their duty; "an example," adds our ſage author, "worthy the imitation of Chriſtian wives,

[f] Labat's Voyages to the American iſlands.

"who are daily inſtructed from the pulpit in the "duties of obedience and conjugal fidelity, but to "very little purpoſe." Dampier obſerves in general, that among all the wild nations he was acquainted with, the women carry the burdens, while the men walk before, and carry nothing but their arms. Women even of the higheſt rank are not better treated. The ſovereign of Giaga, in Africa, has many wives, who are literally his ſlaves: one carries his bow, one his arrows, and one gives him drink; and while he is drinking, they all fall on their knees, clap their hands, and ſing. Not many centuries ago, a law was made in England, prohibiting the New Teſtament in Engliſh to be read by women, apprentices, journeymen, or ſerving men [g]. What a pitiful figure muſt the poor women have made in that age! In Siberia, and even in Ruſſia, the capital excepted, men treat their wives in every reſpect as ſlaves. The regulations of Peter I. put marriage upon a more reſpectable footing among people of rank; and yet ſuch are the brutal manners of the Ruſſians, that tyrannical treatment of wives is far from being eradicated.

The low condition of the female ſex among ſavages and barbarians paved the way to polygamy. Savages, excited by a taſte for variety, and ſtill more by pride, which is gratified by many ſervants, delight in a multiplicity of wives. The pairing principle, though rooted in human nature, makes little figure among ſavages, yielding to every irregular appetite; and this fairly accounts why poly-

[g] 34th and 35th Henry VIII. cap. 1.

gamy

gamy was once univerſal. It might indeed be thought, that animal love, were there nothing elſe, ſhould have raiſed women to ſome degree of eſtimation among the men. But male ſavages, utter ſtrangers to decency or refinement, gratify animal love with as little ceremony as they do hunger or thirſt.

Hence appears the reaſon of a cuſtom that will ſurpriſe thoſe who are unacquainted with ancient cuſtoms; which is, that women are purchaſed for wives, as other goods are purchaſed. Women by marriage became ſlaves; and no man will give away his daughter to be a ſlave, but for a valuable conſideration. The practice was univerſal. I begin with the Jews. Abraham bought Rebekah, and gave her to his ſon Iſaac for a wife [h]. Jacob having nothing elſe to give, ſerved Laban fourteen years for two wives [i]. Sechem demanding in marriage Dinah, Jacob's daughter, ſaid, "Aſk "me never ſo much dowry and gift, and I will "give according as ye ſhall ſay unto me: but give "me the damſel to wife [k]." To David, demanding Saul's daughter in marriage, Saul ſaid, "The "king deſireth not any dowry, but an hundred "foreſkins of the Philiſtines [l]." In the Iliad, Agamemnon offers his daughter to Achilles for a wife, and ſays, that he would not demand for her any price. Pauſanias reports of Danaus, that no ſuitors appearing to demand any of his daughters, he publiſhed, that he would give them without

h Geneſis xxiv. 53.
i Ibid. chap. xxix.
k Ibid. xxxiv. 12.
l 1 Samuel xviii. 25.

dowry.

dowry. In Homer there is frequent mention of nuptial gifts from a bridegroom to his bride's father. From terming them gifts, it is probable that the former method of purchaſe was beginning to wear out. It wore out before the time of Ariſtotle, who infers, that their fore-fathers muſt have been a very rude people. The ancient Spaniards purchaſed their wives. We have the authority of Herodotus and of Heraclides Ponticus, that the ſame was practiſed in Thrace. And the latter adds, that if a wife was ill treated, her relations could demand her back, upon repaying the price they got for her. In the Roman law mention is made of matrimony per æs et libram, which was ſolemnized by laying down a quantity of braſs, with a balance for weighing it, underſtood to be the price paid for the bride. This muſt have been once a reality, though it ſunk down to be a mere ceremony, after it became cuſtomary for a Roman bride to bring a dowry with her. The Babylonians and the Aſſyrians, at ſtated times, collected all the marriageable young women, and diſpoſed of them by auction. Rubruguis, in his voyage to Tartary, ann. 1253, reports, that there every man bought his wife. They believe, he adds, that their wives ſerve them in another world as they do in this; for which reaſon, a widow has no chance for a ſecond huſband, whom ſhe cannot ſerve in the other world. Olaus Magnus remarking, that among the ancient Goths no dower was provided on the bride's part, gives a reaſon, better ſuited perhaps to the time he lived in than to what he deſcribes. "Apud Gothos, non mulier viro "ſed vir mulieri dotem aſſignat; ne conjux, ob "magnitudinem dotis inſoleſcens, aliquando ex "placida

" placida conſorte proterva evadet, atque in mari-
" tum dominari contendat *;" as if the hazard of petulancy in a wife would hinder a man to accept a dower with her:—a ſad doctrine for an heireſs. Giraldus Cambrenſis, in his deſcription of Wales, ſays, that formerly they hardly ever married without a prior cohabitation, it having been cuſtomary for parents to let out their daughters to young men upon trial, for a ſum of money told down, and under a penalty if the girls were returned. This I believe to be a miſtake. It is more probable, that in Wales men purchaſed their wives, as was done all the world over, with liberty to return them if they proved not agreeable. The bride's parents retained the dowry, and her chance for a huſband was as good as ever.

The ſame cuſtom continues among barbarous nations. It continues among the Tartars, among the Mingrelians, among the Samoides, among the Oſtiacs, among the people of Pegu, and of the Molucca iſlands. In Timor, an Eaſt-Indian iſland, men even ſell their children to purchaſe more wives. The Prince of Circaſſia demanded from the Prince of Mingrelia, who was in ſuit of his daughter, a hundred ſlaves loaded with tapeſtry and other houſehold furniture, a hundred cows, as many oxen, and as many horſes. We have evidence of the ſame cuſtom in Africa, particularly in Bilidulgerid, among the negroes on the ſea-coaſt, and in Monomotapa. Among the Caribbees there is one

* " Among the Goths, a man gave a dowry for his bride, inſtead " of receiving one with her; to prevent pride and inſolence, that " commonly accompany riches on the woman's part."

inſtance

inſtance where a man gets a wife without paying for her. After a ſucceſsful war, the victors are entertained at a feaſt, where the General harangues on the valour of the young men who made the beſt figure. Every man who has marrigeable daughters, is fond to offer them to ſuch young men without any price. The purchaſing of wives is univerſal among the wild Arabs. When the bargain is concluded, the bridegroom is permitted to viſit the bride: if ſhe anſwer not his expectations, he may turn her off; but has no claim for the price he paid. The inland negroes are more poliſhed than thoſe on the coaſt; and there is ſcarce any remains among them of purchaſing wives: the bridegroom makes preſents to his bride, and her father makes preſents to him. There are remaining traces in Ruſſia of purchaſing wives. Even ſo late as the time of Peter I. the Ruſſians married without ſeeing each other; and before ſolemnization the bride received from the bridegroom a preſent of ſweatmeats, ſoap, and other little things.

The purchaſing of wives made it a lawful practice to lend a wife as one does a ſlave. The Spartans lent their wives to their friends; and Cato the elder is ſaid to have done the ſame. The Indians of Calicut frequently exchange wives.

If brutiſh manners alone be ſufficient to degrade the female ſex, they may reckon upon extreme harſh treatment when purchaſed to be ſlaves. The Giagas, a fierce and wandering nation in the central parts of Africa, being ſupinely idle at home, ſubject their wives and their ſlaves to every ſort of drudgery, ſuch as digging, ſowing, reaping, cutting wood, grinding corn, fetching water, &c.

Theſe

Theſe poor creatures are ſuffered to toil in the fields and woods, ready to faint with exceſſive labour, while the monſters of men will not give themſelves even the trouble of training animals for work, though they have the example of the Portugueſe before their eyes. It is the buſineſs of the women among the wandering Arabs of Africa to card, ſpin, and weave, and to manage other houſehold affairs. They milk the cattle, grind, bake, brew, dreſs the victuals, and bring home wood and water. They even take care of their huſbands horſes, feed, curry, comb, bridle, and ſaddle them. They would alſo be obliged, like Mooriſh wives, to dig, ſow, and reap their corn; but luckily for them the Arabs live entirely upon plunder. Father Joſeph Gumilla, in his account of a country in South-America, bordering upon the great river Oroonoko, deſcribes pathetically the miſerable ſlavery of married women there, and mentions a practice that would appear incredible to one unacquainted with the manners of that country, which is, that married women frequently deſtroy their female infants. A married woman, of a virtuous character and good underſtanding, having been guilty of that crime, was reproached by our author in bitter terms. She heard him patiently to an end, with eyes fixed on the ground; and anſwered as follows: "I wiſh to God, Father, I wiſh to God, that my "mother had by my death prevented the manifold "diſtreſſes I have endured, and have yet to endure "as long as I live. Had ſhe kindly ſtifled me at "my birth, I ſhould not have felt the pain of "death, nor numberleſs other pains to which life "hath ſubjected me. Conſider, Father, our de-

" plorable condition. Our huſbands go to hunt " with their bows and arrows, and trouble them- " ſelves no farther. We are dragged along, with " one infant at our breaſt, and another in a baſket. " They return in the evening without any burden: " we return with the burden of our children; and, " though tired out with a long march, are not " permitted to ſleep, but muſt labour the whole " night in grinding maize, to make chica for " them. They get drunk, and in their drunken- " neſs, beat us, draw us by the hair of the head, " and tread us under foot. And what have we to " comfort us for ſlavery, perhaps of twenty years? " A young wife is brought in upon us, who is " permitted to abuſe us and our children, becauſe " we are no longer regarded. Can human nature " endure ſuch tyranny! What kindneſs can we " ſhow to our female children equal to that of re- " lieving them from ſuch ſervitude, more bitter a " thouſand times than death? I ſay again, would " to God that my mother had put me under " ground the moment I was born." One would readily imagine, that the women of that country ſhould have the greateſt abhorrence at matrimony: but all-prevailing nature determines the contrary; and the appetite for matrimony overbalances every rational conſideration.

Nations poliſh by degrees; and from the loweſt ſtate to which a human creature can be reduced, women came in time to be reſtored to their native dignity. Attention to dreſs is the firſt ſymptom of that progreſs. Male ſavages, even of the groſſeſt kind, are fond of dreſs. Charlevoix mentions a young American hired as a rower, who adjuſted his

his dreſs with great care before he entered the boat; and at intervals inſpected his looking-glaſs, to ſee whether the violence of his motion had not diſcompoſed the red upon his cheeks. We read not of vanity for dreſs in females of ſuch ſavage nations: they are too much diſpirited to think of being agreeable. Among nations in any degree humanized we find a different ſcene. In the iſthmus of Darien government has made ſome progreſs, as a chieftain is elected for life: a glimmering of civility appears among the inhabitants; and as ſome regard is paid to women, they rival the men in dreſs. Both ſexes wear rings in their ears and noſes; and are adorned with many rows of ſhells hanging down from the neck. A female in a ſultry climate ſubmits to fry all day long under a load of twenty or thirty pounds of ſhells; and a male under double that load. Well may they exclaim with Alexander, "Oh Athenians! what do I not endure to gain your approbation?" The female Caribbeans and Braſilians are not leſs fond of ornament than the males. Hottentot ladies are fond of dreſs; and ſtrive to out-do each other in adorning their kroſſes, and the bag that holds their pipe and tobacco: European ladies are not more vain of their ſilks and embroideries. Women in Lapland are much addicted to finery. They wear broad girdles, upon which hang chains and rings without end, commonly made of tin, ſometimes of ſilver, weighing perhaps twenty pounds. The Greenlanders are naſty and ſlovenly, eat with their dogs, make food of the vermin that make food of them, ſeldom or never waſh themſelves; and yet the women, who make ſome figure among the men, are gaudy in their

dreſs. Their chief ornaments are pendents at their ears, with glaſs beads of various colours; and they draw lines with a needle and black thread between their eyes, croſs the forehead, upon the chin, hands, and legs. The negroes of the kingdom of Ardrah in Guinea have made a conſiderable progreſs in police, and in the art of living. Their women carry dreſs and finery to an extravagance. They are cloathed with loads of the fineſt ſatins and chintzes, and are adorned with a profuſion of gold. In a ſultry climate they gratify vanity at the expence of eaſe. Among the inland negroes, who are more poliſhed than thoſe on the ſea-coaſt, beſide domeſtic concerns, the women ſow, plant, and reap. A man however ſuffers in the eſteem of the world, if he permits his wives to toil like ſlaves while he is indulging in eaſe. From that auſpicious commencement, the female ſex have riſen in a ſlow but ſteady progreſs to higher and higher degrees of eſtimation. Converſation is their talent, and a diſplay of delicate ſentiments: the gentleneſs of their manners, and winning behaviour, captivate every ſenſible heart. Of ſuch refinements ſavages have little conception: but when the more delicate ſenſes are unfolded, the peculiar beauties of the female ſex, internal as well as external, are brought into full light: and women, formerly conſidered as objects of animal love merely, are now valued as faithful friends and agreeable companions. Matrimony aſſumes a more decent form, being the union, not of a maſter and ſlave, but of two perſons equal in rank uniting to form a family. And it contributed greatly to this delicious refinement, that in temperate climes animal love is moderate, and women long retain good looks,

looks, and power of procreation. Thus marriage became honourable among poliſhed nations; which of courſe baniſhed the barbarous cuſtom of purchaſing wives; for a man who wiſhes to have his daughter properly matched, will gladly give a dowry with her, inſtead of ſelling her as a ſlave.

Poligamy is found intimately connected with the purchaſing wives. There is no limitation in purchaſing ſlaves: nor has a woman, purchaſed as a wife or a ſlave, any juſt cauſe for complaining, that others are purchaſed as ſhe was: on the contrary, ſhe is in part relieved, by addition of hands for performing the ſervile offices of the family. Polygamy accordingly has always been permitted, where men pay for their wives. The Jews purchaſed their wives, and were indulged in polygamy [m]: Diodorus Siculus ſays, that polygamy was permitted in Egypt, except to prieſts [n]. This probably was the caſe originally; but when the Egyptian manners came to be poliſhed, a man gave a dowry with his daughter, inſtead of receiving a price for her; witneſs Solomon, who got the city of Gazar in dowry with the king of Egypt's daughter. When that cuſtom became univerſal, we may be certain that it would put an end to polygamy. And accordingly Herodotus affirms, that polygamy was prohibited in Egypt [o]. Polygamy undoubtedly prevailed in Greece and Rome, while it was cuſtomary to purchaſe wives; but improved manners put an end to the latter, and conſequently to the former. Polygamy to this day obtains in the cold country of Kamſkatka; and in the ſtill colder country round

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m Leviticus xviii, 18. n Lib. i. o Lib. 2. § 92.

Hudſon's

Hudſon's bay. In the land of Jeſſo, near Japan, a man may have two wives, who perform every ſort of domeſtic drudgery. The negroes in general purchaſe their wives, and deal in polygamy. Polygamy is the law in Monomotapa. Polygamy and the purchaſing wives were euſtomary among the original inhabitants of the Canary iſlands. The men in Chili buy their wives, and deal in polygamy.

The low condition of women among barbarians introduced polygamy, and the purchaſing women to be wives. And the juſt reſpect paid to them among civilized nations, reſtored the law of nature, and confined a man to one wife. Their equality as to rank and dignity bars the man from taking another wife, as it bars the woman from taking another huſband. We find traces in ancient hiſtory of polygamy wearing out gradually. It wore out in Greece, as manners refined; but ſuch was the influence of long habit, that though a man was confined to one wife, concubines were indulged without limitation. In Germany, when Tacitus wrote, very few traces remained of polygamy. "Severa "illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem ma-"gis laudaveris: nam prope ſoli barbarorum ſingu-"lis uxoribus contenti ſunt, exceptis admodum "paucis, qui non libidine, ſed ob nobilitatem, plu-"rimis nuptiis ambiuntur *." When polygamy was in that country ſo little practiſed, we may be

* "Marriage is there rigidly reſpected; nor is there any part of "their morality more laudable: for they are almoſt the only race of "barbarians who are contented with a ſingle wife; a very few ex-"cepted, who, not from incontinency, but from an ambition of no-"bility, take more wives than one."

certain

certain the purchaſing wives did not remain in vigour. and Tacitus accordingly, mentioning the general rule, "dotem non uxor marito, ſed uxori "maritus offert †," explains it away by obſerving, that the only DOS given by the bridegroom were marriage-preſents, and that he at the ſame time received marriage-preſents, on the bride's part [p]. The equality of the matrimonial engagement, for the mutual benefit of huſband and wife, was well underſtood among the Gauls. Cæſar [q] ſays, "Viri quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis no-"mine acceperunt, tantas ex ſuis bonis, æſtimati-"one facta, cum dotibus communicant. Hujus "omnis pecuniæ conjunctim ratio habetur, fructuſ-"que ſervantur. Uter eorum vita ſuperarit, ad "eum pars utriuſque cum fructibus ſuperiorum "temporum pervenit ‡." In Japan, and in Nicaragua, a man can have but one wife; but he may have many concubines. In Siam, polygamy is ſtill permitted, though the bride brings a dowry with her: but that abſurdity is corrected by refined manners; it being held improper, and even diſgraceful, to have more than one wife. The purchaſing wives wore out of faſhion among the ancient Tuſcans; for it was held infamous, that marriage ſhould be the reſult of any motive but mutual

† "The huſband gives a dowry to the wife, but the wife brings "none to the huſband."

[p] De moribus Germanorum, cap. 18.

[q] Lib. 6. cap. 19. De bello Gallico.

‡ "Whatever ſum the huſband has received as his wife's portion, "he allots as much from his own effects to be joined with it. An ac-"count is kept of this joint ſtock, and the fruits of it are preſerved. "Upon the death of either, the ſurviving ſpouſe has the property of "both the ſhares, with the fruits or profits."

love.

love. This at the ſame time put an end to polygamy. Polygamy was probably early eradicated among the ancient Perſians; for the bride's dowry was ſettled in marriage-articles, as among us. And there is the ſame reaſon for preſuming, that it was not long permitted in Mexico; marriage there being ſolemnized by the prieſt, and the bride's dower ſpecified, which was reſtored in caſe of a ſeparation. In the countries where the Chriſtian religion was firſt propagated, women were faſt advancing to an equality with the men, and polygamy was wearing out of faſhion. The pure ſpirit of the goſpel haſtened its downfal; and though not prohibited expreſsly, it was, however, held, that Chriſtianity is a religion too pure for polygamy.

But, as hinted above, it was by ſlow degrees that the female ſex emerged out of ſlavery, to poſſeſs the elevated ſtate they juſtly are intitled to by nature. The practice of expoſing infants among the Greeks, and many other nations, is an invincible proof of their depreſſion, even after the cuſtom ceaſed of purchaſing them. It is wiſely ordered by Providence, that the affection of a woman to her children commences with their birth, becauſe, during infancy, all depends on her care. As, during that period, the father is of little uſe to his child, his affection is extremely ſlight till the child begins to prattle and ſhew ſome fondneſs for him. The expoſing an infant, therefore, ſhows, that the mother was little regarded: if ſhe had been allowed a vote, the practice never would have obtained in any country. In the firſt book of the Iliad, Achilles ſays to Agamemnon, who threatened to force from him his miſtreſs Briſeis, "Another thing I will tell

"thee:

" thee: record it in thy ſoul. For a woman theſe " hands ſhall never fight, with thee nor with thy " foes. Come, ſeize Briſeis: ye Argives, take " the prize ye gave. But beware of other ſpoil, " which lies ſtowed in my ſhips on the ſhore. I " will not be plundered farther. If other be thy " thoughts, Atrides, come in arms, a trial make: " theſe very ſlaves of thine ſhall behold thy blood " pouring around my ſpear *." The comedies of Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, are loſt; but manners muſt have been little poliſhed in their time, ſo far as can be conjectured from their tranſlators or imitators, Plautus and Terence. Married women in their comedies are ſometimes introduced, and treated with very little reſpect. A man commonly vents his wrath on his wife, and ſcolds her as the cauſe of the miſconduct of their children. A lady, perhaps too inquiſitive about her huſband's amours, is ſcolded by him in the following words:

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* Pope hides that ſentiment as follows:

" Seize on Breſeis, whom the Grecians doom'd
" My prize of war, yet tamely ſee reſum'd;
" And ſeize ſecure; no more Achilles draws
" His conqu'ring ſword in any woman's cauſe.
" The gods command me to forgive the paſt;
" But let this firſt invaſion be the laſt:
" For know, thy blood, when next thou dar'ſt invade,
" Shall ſtream in vengeance on my reeking blade."

Such contempt of the female ſex, as expreſſed by Achilles, was, perhaps, thought too groſs for a modern ear without ſome diſguiſe. But did not Pope diſcover, that one capital beauty in Homer is the delineation of ancient manners? At that rate, had it fallen to his ſhare to deſcribe Julius Cæſar, he would have dreſſed him like a modern beau, And after all, in a genteel aſſembly, what a ſavage would he appear, without breeches, and without linen!

" Ni mala, ni ſtulta ſis, ni indomita impoſque
" animi,
" Quod viro eſſe odio videas, tute tibi odio habeas.
" Præter hac ſi mihi talé poſt hunc diem
" Faxis, faxo foris vidua viſas patrem *."

One will not be ſurpriſed, that women in Greece were treated with no great reſpect by their huſbands. A woman cannot have much attraction who paſſes all her time in ſolitude: to be admired, ſhe muſt receive the high poliſh of ſociety. At the ſame time, men of faſhion were ſo much improved in manners as to reliſh ſociety with agreeable women, where ſuch could be found. And hence the figure that courtezans made at that period, eſpecially in Athens. They ſtudied the temper and taſte of the men, and endeavoured to gain their affection by every winning art. The daily converſations they liſtened to on philoſophy, politics, poetry, enlightened their underſtanding and improved their taſte. Their houſes became agreeable ſchools, where every one might be inſtructed in his own arts. Socrates and Pericles met frequently at the houſe of Aſpaſia: from her they acquired delicacy of taſte, and in return procured to her public reſpect and reputation. Greece at that time was governed by orators, over whom ſome celebrated courtezans had great influ-

* " Would you be held a wiſe and virtuous ſpouſe,
" And of diſcretion due, obſerve this counſel:
" Whatever I, your lord, blame or approve,
" Still let your praiſe or cenſure be the ſame.
" But hearkee,—be this reprimand the laſt:
" If you again offend, no more a wife
" Within theſe walls;—your father has you back."

ence,

ence, and by that means entered deep into the government. It was ſaid of the famous Demoſthenes, "The meaſure he hath meditated on for a year, "will be overturned in a day by a woman." It appears accordingly from Plautus and Terence, that Athenian courtezans lived in great ſplendor. See in particular Theautontimorumenos, act. 3. ſcene 2.

I proceed to the other cauſe of polygamy, mentioned alſo above, viz. opulence in a hot climate. Men there have a burning appetite for animal enjoyment; and women become old and loſe the prolific quality, not long after the age of maturity in a temperate climate. Theſe circumſtances diſpoſe men of opulence to purchaſe their wives, that they may not be confined to one; and purchaſe they muſt, for no man, without a valuable conſideration, will ſurrender his daughter to be one of many who are deſtined to gratify the carnal appetite of one man. The numerous wives and concubines in Aſiatic harems are all of them purchaſed with money. In the hot climate of Hindoſtan, polygamy is univerſal, and men buy their wives. The ſame obtains in China: after the price is adjuſted and paid, the bride is conducted to the bride-groom's houſe locked in a ſedan, and the key delivered to him: if he be not ſatisfied with his bargain, he ſends her back at the expence of loſing the ſum he paid for her: if ſatisfied, he feaſts his male friends in one room, and ſhe her female friends in another. A man who has little ſubſtance takes a wife for his ſon from an hoſpital, which ſaves him a dowry.

It has been pleaded for polygamy in warm climates, that women are fit for being married at or before the age of ten, and paſt child-bearing at

twenty-five, while men are yet in the prime of life; and therefore that a ſecond wife ought to be permitted, who can bear children. Is then the intereſt of the female ſex to be totally diſregarded in the matrimonial engagement, as if women were intended by nature for beaſts of burden only? But even putting them out of the queſtion, it ought to be conſidered, that a man, by taking a ſecond wife, deprives ſome other of the privilege all men have to be married. The argument, indeed, would be concluſive, were ten females born for one male, as is ſaid to be the caſe in Bantam: but as an equality of males and females is the deſtination of nature, the argument has no force. All men are born equal by nature; and to permit polygamy in any degree, is to authoriſe ſome to uſurp the privilege of others.

Thus in hot climates women remain in the ſame humble and dependent ſtate, in which all women were originally, when all men were ſavages. Women by the law of Hindoſtan are not admitted to be witneſſes, even in a civil cauſe; and I bluſh to acknowledge, that in Scotland the ſame law has not been long in diſuſe.

In contradiction to the climate, Chriſtianity has baniſhed polygamy from Ethiopia, though the judges are far from being ſevere upon that crime. The heat of the climate makes them wiſh to indulge in a plurality of wives, even at the expence of purchaſing each of them. Among the Chriſtians of Congo polygamy is in uſe, as formerly when they were Pagans. To be confined to one wife during life, is held by the moſt zealous Chriſtians there, to be altogether irrational; rather than be ſo confined, they would renounce Chriſtianity.

Beſide

Beſide polygamy, many other cuſtoms depend on the nature of the matrimonial engagement, and vary according to its different kinds. Marriage-ceremonies, for that reaſon, vary in different countries, and at different times. Where the practice is to purchaſe a wife, whether among ſavages, or among pampered people in hot climates, the payment of the price completes the marriage, without any other ceremony. Other ceremonies, however, are ſometimes practiſed. In old Rome, the bride was attended to the bridegroom's houſe with a female ſlave carrying a diſtaff and a ſpindle, importing that ſhe ought to ſpin for the family. Among the ſavages of Canada and of the neighbouring countries, a ſtrap, a kettle, and a faggot, are put in the bride's cabin, as ſymbols of her duty, viz. to carry burdens, to dreſs the victuals, and to provide wood. On the other hand, the bride, in token of her ſlavery, takes her axe, cuts down timber, bundles it up, and lays it before the door of the bridegroom's hut. All the ſalutation ſhe receives is, "It is time "to go to reſt." The inhabitants of Sierra Leona, a negro country, have in all their towns a boarding-ſchool, where young ladies are educated for a year under the care of a venerable old gentleman. When their education is completed, they are carried in their beſt attire to a public aſſembly; which may be termed a matrimonial market, becauſe there young men convene to make a choice. Thoſe who fit themſelves to their fancy, pay the dowry, and over and above gratify the old ſuperintendent for his extraordinary care in educating the bride. In the iſland of Java, the bride, in token of ſubjection, waſhes the bridegroom's feet; and this is a capital

capital ceremony. In Ruſſia, the bride preſents to the bridegroom a bundle of rods, to be uſed againſt her when ſhe deſerves to be chaſtiſed; and at the ſame time ſhe pulls off his boots. The preſent Empreſs, prone to reform the rude manners of her ſubjects, has diſcountenanced that ceremony among people of faſhion. Very different were the manners of Peru before the Spaniſh conqueſt. The bridegroom carried ſhoes to the bride, and put them on with his own hands. But there purchaſing of wives was unknown. Marriage-ceremonies in Lapland are directed by the ſame principle. It is the cuſtom there for a man to make preſents to his children of rein-deer, and young women, ſuch as have a large ſtock of rein-deer, have lovers in plenty. A young man looks for ſuch a wife at a fair, or at their meetings for paying taxes. He carries to the houſe of the young woman's parents, ſome of his relations; being ſolicitous in particular to chuſe an eloquent ſpeaker. They are all admitted except the lover, who muſt wait till he be called in. After drinking ſome ſpirits, brought along for the purpoſe, the ſpokeſman addreſſes the father in the moſt humble terms, bowing the knee as if he were introduced to a prince. He ſtyles him, the worſhipful father, the high and mighty father, the beſt and moſt illuſtrious father, &c. &c.

In viewing the chain of cauſes and effects, inſtances ſometimes occur of bizarre facts, ſtarting from the chain without any cauſe that can be diſcovered. The marriage-ceremonies among the Hottentots are of that nature. After all matters are adjuſted among the old people, the young couple are ſhut up in a room by themſelves, where they

they paſs the night in ſtruggling for ſuperiority, which proves a very ſerious work where the bride is reluctant. If ſhe perſevere to the laſt without yielding, the young man is diſcarded; but if he prevail, which commonly happens, the marriage is completed by another ceremony, not leſs ſingular. The men and women ſquat on the ground in different circles, the bridegroom in the centre of one, and the bride in the centre of another. The Suri, or maſter of religious ceremonies, piſſes on the bridegroom; who receives the ſtream with eagerneſs, and rubs it into the furrows of the fat with which he is covered. He performs the ſame ceremony on the bride, who is equally reſpectful. Marriage-ceremonies among the Kamſkatkans are ſtill more whimſical. A young man, after making his propoſals, enters into the ſervice of his intended father-in-law. If he prove agreeable, he is admitted to the trial of the touch. The young woman is ſwaddled up in leathern thongs; and in that condition is put under the guard of ſome old women. He watches every opportunity of a ſlack guard to uncaſe her, in order to touch what is always the moſt concealed. The bride muſt reſiſt, in appearance at leaſt; and therefore cries out to ſummon her guards; who fall with fury upon the bridegroom, tear his hair, ſcratch his face, and act in violent oppoſition. The attempts of the lover prove ſometimes unſucceſsful for months; but the moment the touch is atchieved, the bride teſtifies her ſatisfaction, by pronouncing the words Ni, Ni, with a ſoft and loving voice. The next night they bed together without any oppoſition. One marriage-ceremony among the inland negroes is ſingular. So ſoon as preliminaries

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are adjuſted, the bridegroom with a number of his companions ſet out at night, and ſurround the houſe of the bride, as if intending to carry her off by force. She and her female attendants, pretending to make all poſſible reſiſtance, cry aloud for help, but no perſon appears. This reſembles ſtrongly a marriage-ceremony that is or was cuſtomary in Wales. On the morning of the wedding-day, the bridegroom, accompanied with his friends on horſeback, demands the bride. Her friends, who are likewiſe on horſeback, give a poſitive refuſal, upon which a mock ſcuffle enſues. The bride, mounted behind her next kinſman, is carried off, and is purſued by the bridegroom and his friends with loud ſhouts. It is not uncommon to ſee on ſuch an occaſion two or three hundred ſturdy Cambro-Britons riding at full ſpeed, croſſing and joſtling, to the no ſmall amuſement of the ſpectators. When they have fatigued themſelves and their horſes, the bridegroom is ſuffered to overtake his bride. He leads her away in triumph, and the ſcene is concluded with feaſting and feſtivity. The ſame marriage-ceremony was uſual in Muſcovy, Lithuania, and Livonia, as reported by Olaus Magnus [r].

Divorce alſo depends on the nature of the matrimonial engagement. Where the law is, that a man muſt purchaſe his wife as one does a ſlave; it follows naturally, that he may purchaſe as many as he can pay for, and that he may turn them off at his pleaſure. This law is univerſal, without a ſingle exception. The Jews, who purchaſed their wives, were privileged to divorce them, without

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[r] Lib. 14 cap. 9.

being

being obliged to aſſign a cauſe[s]. The negroes purchaſe their wives, and turn them off when they think proper. The ſame law obtains in China, in Monomotapa, in the Iſthmus of Darien, in Caribeana, and even in the cold country round Hudſon's Bay. All the ſavages of South America, who live near the Oroonoko, purchaſe as many wives as they can maintain; and divorce them at their pleaſure.

Very different is a matrimonial engagement between equals, where a dowry is contracted with the bride. The nature of the engagement implies, that neither of them is privileged to diſmiſs the other without a juſt cauſe. In Mexico, where the bride brought a dowry, there could be no divorce but by mutual conſent. In Lapland, the women who have a ſtock of rein-deer, as above-mentioned, make a conſiderable figure. This lays a foundation for a matrimonial covenant as among us, which bars polygamy, and, conſequently, divorce, without a juſt cauſe. And when theſe are barred in ſeveral inſtances, the prohibition in time becomes general.

I proceed to adultery, the criminality of which depends alſo in ſome meaſure on the nature of the matrimonial engagement. Where wives are purchaſed, and polygamy is indulged, adultery can ſcarce be reckoned a crime in the huſband; and where there are a plurality of wives, ſound ſenſe makes it but a venial crime in any one of them. But, as men are the lawgivers, the puniſhment of female adultery, where polygamy takes place, is

[s] Deuteronomy, chap. xxiv.

generally too ſevere. It is, however, more or leſs ſevere in different countries, in proportion as the men are more or leſs prone to revenge. The Chineſe are a mild people, and depend more on locks and bars for preventing adultery, than on ſeverity; the puniſhment being only to ſell an adultereſs for a ſlave. The ſame law obtains in the kingdom of Laos, bordering upon China. An Adultereſs among the ancient Egyptians was puniſhed with the loſs of her noſe. In ancient Greece, a pecuniary penalty was inflicted on an adulterer [t]. An adultereſs was probably puniſhed more ſeverely. Among the negroes, who have very little delicacy, adultery is but ſlightly puniſhed; except in the kingdom of Benin. There an adultereſs, after a ſevere whipping, is baniſhed; and the adulterer forfeits his goods, which are beſtowed on the injured huſband. Among the ancient Germans, a grave and virtuous people, adultery was extremely rare. An adultereſs was deprived of her hair, expelled from her huſband's houſe, and whipped through the village [u]. In Japan, where the people are remarkably fierce, female adultery is always puniſhed with death. In Tonquin, a woman guilty of adultery is thrown to an elephant to be deſtroyed. By the law of Moſes, an adultereſs is puniſhed with death, as alſo the adulterer [x]. Margaret of Burgundy, Queen to Lewis Hutin, King of France, was hanged for adultery; and her lovers were flead alive. Such were the ſavage manners of thoſe

t Odyſſey, book 8. l. 384.
u Tacitus, De Moribus Germanorum, cap. 19.
x Leviticus xx. 10.

times.

times. There is an old law in Wales, that for defiling the Prince's bed, the offender muſt pay a rod of pure gold, of the thickneſs of the finger of a ploughman who has ploughed nine years, and in length from the ground to the Prince's mouth when ſitting.

Matrimony between a ſingle pair, for mutual comfort, and for procreating children, implies the ſtricteſt mutual fidelity. Adultery, however, is a deeper crime in the wife than in the huſband: in him it may happen occaſionally, with little or no alienation of affection; but the ſuperior modeſty of the female ſex is ſuch, that a wife does not yield, till unlawful love prevails, not only over modeſty, but over duty to her huſband. Adultery, therefore, in the wife, is a breach of the matrimonial engagement in a double reſpect: it is an alienation of affection from the huſband, which unqualifies her to be his friend and companion; and it tends to bring a ſpurious iſſue into the family, betraying the huſband to maintain and educate children who are not his own.

The gradual advance of the female ſex to an equality with the male ſex, is viſible in the laws of female ſucceſſion, that have been eſtabliſhed at different times, and in different countries. It is not probable, that, in any country, women were early admitted to inherit land: they are too much deſpiſed among ſavages for ſo valuable a privilege. The fierceneſs and brutality of the ancient Romans, in particular, unqualified the women to be their companions: it never entered their thoughts, that women ſhould inherit land, which they cannot defend by the ſword. But women came to be

regarded, in proportion as the national manners refined. The law prohibiting female ſucceſſion in land, eſtabliſhed in days of ruſticity, was held to be rigorous and unjuſt, when the Romans were more poliſhed. Proprietors of land, ſuch of them as had no ſons, were diſpoſed to evade the law, by ample proviſions to their daughters, which rendered the land of little value to the collateral heir-male. To reform that abuſe, as termed by the veterans, the Lex Voconia was made, confining ſuch proviſions within moderate bounds: and this regulation continued in force, till regard for the female ſex broke through every legal reſtraint, and eſtabliſhed female ſucceſſion in land, as formerly in moveables *. The barbarous nations, who cruſhed the Roman power, were not long in adopting the mild manners of the conquered: they admitted women to inherit land, and they exacted a double compoſition for injuries done to them. By the Salic law among the Franks, women were expreſsly prohibited to inherit land; but we learn from the forms of Marculfus, that this propoſition

* Juſtinian, or, more properly, the lawyers employed by him on that abſurd compilation, the Pandects, is guilty of a groſs error, in teaching, that, by the Twelve Tables, males and females of the ſame degree ſucceeded equally to land. The Lex Voconia (which ſee explained in Alexandri ab Alexandro geniales dies, lib. 7. cap. 15.) vouches the contrary. And one cannot ſee, without pain, Juſtinian's error, not only adopted by an illuſtrious modern, but a cauſe aſſigned for it ſo refined and ſubtile, as to go quite out of ſight, L'Eſprit de Loix, liv. 2. chap. 1. I venture to affirm, that ſubtile reaſoning never had any influence upon a rough and illiterate people: and therefore, at the time of the Decemvirs, who compoſed the Twelve Tables of law, the ſubtile cauſe aſſigned by our author could not have been the motive, had the Decemvirs introduced female ſucceſſion in land, which they certainly did not.

was in time eluded, by the following ſolemnity: The man who wanted to put his daughter upon a footing with his ſons, carried her before the commiſſary, ſaying, "My dear child, an ancient and "impious cuſtom bars a young woman from ſuc-"ceeding to her father: but as all my children "equally are given me by God, I ought to love "them equally: therefore, my dear child, my "will is, that my effects ſhall be divided equally "between you and your brethren." In poliſhed ſtates, women are not excluded from ſucceeding even to the crown. Ruſſia and Britain afford examples of women capable to govern, in an abſolute as well as in a limited monarchy †.

What I have ſaid regards thoſe nations only, where polygamy is prohibited. I take it for granted, that women are not admitted to inherit land where polygamy is lawful: they are not in ſuch eſtimation as to be intitled to a privilege ſo illuſtrious.

Among the Hurons in North-America, where

† The kingdom of Gurrah, in Hindoſtan, was governed by Queen Dargoutté, eminent for ſpirit and beauty. Small as that kingdom is, it contained about 70,000 towns and villages, the effect of long peace and proſperity. Being invaded by Aſaph Can, not many years ago, the Queen, mounted on an Elephant, led her troops to battle. Her ſon, Rajah Bier Shaw, being wounded in the heat of action, was, by her orders, carried from the field. That accident having occaſioned a general panic, the Queen was left with no more than 300 horſemen. Adhar, who conducted her elephant, exhorted her to retire, while it could be done with ſafety. The heroine rejected the advice. "It is true," ſaid ſhe, "we are overcome "in battle; but not, in honour. Shall I for a lingering ignomini-"ous life loſe a reputation that has been my chief ſtudy! Let your "gratitude repay now the obligations you owe me: pull out your "dagger, and ſave me from ſlavery, by putting an end to my life."

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the regal dignity is hereditary, and great regard paid to the royal family, the ſucceſſion is continued through females, in order to preſerve the blood untainted. When the chief dies, his ſon ſucceeds not, but his ſiſter's ſon; who certainly is of the royal blood, whoever be the father: and when the royal family is at an end, a chief is elected by the nobleſt matron of the tribe. The ſame rule of ſucceſſion obtains among the Natches, a people bordering on the Miſſiſippi; it being an article in their creed, That their royal family are children of the ſun. On the ſame belief was founded a law in Peru, appointing the heir of the crown to marry his ſiſter; which, equally with the law mentioned, preſerved the blood of the ſun in the royal family, and did not encroach ſo much upon the natural order of ſucceſſion.

Female ſucceſſion depends in ſome degree on the nature of the government. In Holland, all the children, male and female, ſucceed equally. The Hollanders live by commerce, which women are capable of as well as men. Land at the ſame time is ſo ſcanty in that country, as to render it impracticable to raiſe a family by engroſſing a great eſtate in land; and there is nothing but the ambition of raiſing a family that can move a man to prefer one of his children before the reſt. The ſame law obtains in Hamburgh, for the ſame reaſons. Extenſive eſtates in land ſupport great families in Britain, a circumſtance unfavourable to younger children. But probably in London, and in other great trading towns, mercantile men take care to prevent the law, by making a more equal diſtribution of their effects among their children.

After

After traverſing a great part of the globe with painful induſtry, will not one be apt to conclude, that originally females were every where deſpiſed, as they are at preſent among the ſavages of America; that wives, like ſlaves, were procured by barter; that polygamy was univerſal; and that divorce depended on the whim of the huſband? Such concluſion, however, would be raſh; for upon a more accurate ſcrutiny, an extenſive country is diſcovered, where polygamy never was in faſhion, and where women were from the beginning courted and honoured as among the moſt poliſhed nations. But the reader is humbly requeſted to ſuſpend his curioſity, till he peruſe the following ſketch, concerning the progreſs of manners, which appears to be the proper place for that curious and intereſting ſubject.

We proceed now to a capital article in the progreſs of the female ſex; which is, to trace the different degrees of reſtraint impoſed upon married women in different countries, and at different times, in the ſame country; and to aſſign the cauſes of theſe differences. Where luxury is unknown, and where people have no wants but what are ſuggeſted by uncorrupted nature, men and women live together with great freedom, and with great innocence. In Greece, anciently, even young women of rank miniſtred to men in bathing.

" While theſe officious tend the rites divine,
" The laſt fair branch of the Neſtorian line,
" Sweet Polycaſté, took the pleaſant toil
" To bathe the Prince, and pour the fragrant oil [7].

[7] Odyſſey, book 3. See alſo book 8. line 491.

Men

Men and women among the Spartans bathed promiſcuouſly, and wreſtled together ſtark naked. Tacitus reports, that the Germans had not even ſeparate beds, but lay promiſcuouſly upon reeds or heath along the walls of the houſe. The ſame cuſtom prevails, even at preſent, among the temperate Highlanders of Scotland; and is not quite worn out in New England. A married woman is under no confinement, becauſe no man thinks of an act ſo irregular, as to attempt her chaſtity. In the Caribbee Iſlands, adultery was unknown, till European Chriſtians made ſettlements there. At the ſame time, there ſcarce can be any fewel for jealouſy, where men purchaſe their wives, put them away at pleaſure, and even lend them to a friend. But when, by ripening ſenſibility, a man puts a value on the affections of his wife, and on her attachment to him, jealouſy commences; jealouſy of a rival in her affections. Jealouſy accordingly is a ſymptom of an encreaſing eſteem for the female ſex; and that paſſion is viſibly creeping in among the natives of Virginia. It begins to have a real foundation, when inequality of rank and of riches takes place. Men of opulence ſtudy pleaſure: married women become objects of a corrupted taſte; and often fall a ſacrifice, where morals are imperfect, and the climate favourable to animal love. Greece is a delicious country, the people handſome; and when the ancient Greeks made the greateſt figure, they were extremely defective in morals. They became jealous of their honour and of their rivals; which prompted them, according to the rough manners of thoſe times, to exclude women from ſociety with men. The women,

men, accordingly, were never ſeen in public; and, if my memory ſerve me, an accidental interview of a man and a woman on the public ſtreet brings on the cataſtrophe in a Greek tragedy. In Hecuba, a tragedy of Euripides, the Queen excuſes herſelf for declining to viſit Polymeſtor, ſaying, "that it was "indecent for a woman to look a man in the face." In the Electra of Sophocles, Antigoné is permitted by her mother Jocaſta to take a view of the Agrian army from a high tower: an old man accompanies her, being alarmed at ſeeing ſome females paſs that way, and afraid of cenſure, prays Antigoné to retire; "for," ſays he, "women are prone to de-"traction; and to them the mereſt trifle is a fruit-"ful ſubject of converſation *." Spain is a country that ſcarce yields to Greece in fineneſs of climate; and the morals of its people in the dark ages of Chriſtianity, were not more pure than thoſe of Greece. By a law of the Viſigoths in Spain, a ſurgeon was prohibited to take blood from a free woman, except in preſence of her huſband or neareſt relations. By the Salic law [z], he who ſqueezes the hand of a free woman, ſhall pay a fine of fifteen golden ſhillings. In the fourteenth century, it was a rule in France, That no married woman ought to admit a man to viſit her in the abſence of her huſband. Female chaſtity muſt, at

* Women are not prone to detraction, unleſs when denied the comforts of ſociety. The cenſure of Sophocles is probably juſt with reſpect to his country-women, becauſe they were locked up. Old maids have the character, with us, of being prone to detraction; but that holds not, unleſs they retire from ſociety.

[z] Tit. xxii.

that time, have been extremely feeble, when ſo little truſt was repoſed in the fair ſex.

To treat women in that manner, may poſſibly be neceſſary, where they are in requeſt for no end but to gratify animal love. But where they are intended for the more elevated purpoſes, of being friends and companions, as well as affectionate mothers, a very different treatment is proper. Locks and ſpies will never anſwer; for theſe tend to debaſe their minds, to corrupt their morals, and to render them contemptible. By gradual openings in the more delicate ſenſes, particularly in all the branches of the moral ſenſe. Chaſtity, one of theſe branches, acquires a commanding influence over females; and, when they are treated with humanity, becomes their ruling principle. In that refined ſtate, women are truſted with their own conduct, and may ſafely be truſted: they make delicious companions, and uncorruptible friends; and that ſuch at preſent is generally their caſe in Britain, I am bold to affirm. Anne of Britany, wife to Charles VIII. and to Lewis XII. Kings of France, introduced the faſhion of ladies appearing publicly at court. This faſhion was introduced much later in England: Even down to the Revolution, women of rank never appeared in the ſtreets without a maſk. In Scotland, the veil, or plaid, continued long in faſhion, with which every woman of rank was covered, when ſhe went abroad. That faſhion has not been laid aſide above forty years. In Italy, women were much longer confined than in France; and in Spain, the indulging them with ſome liberty, is but creeping into faſhion at preſent. In Abyſſinia,

byſſinia, polygamy is prohibited; and married women of faſhion have by cuſtom obtained the privilege of viſiting their friends, though not much with the good-will of many huſbands. It were to be wiſhed, that a veil could be drawn over the following part of their hiſtory. The growth of luxury and ſenſuality, undermining every moral principle, renders both ſexes equally diſſolute: Wives, in that caſe, deſerve to be again locked up: But the time of ſuch ſeverity is paſt. Then, indeed, it becomes indecent for the two ſexes to bathe promiſcuouſly. The men in Rome, copying the Greeks, plunged together into the ſame bath, and became ſuch proficients in aſſurance, that men and women did the ſame [a]. Hadrian prohibited that indecent cuſtom. Marcus Antoninus renewed the prohibition; and Alexander Severus, a ſecond time: But to ſo little purpoſe, that even the primitive Chriſtians made no difficulty to follow the cuſtom: Such appetite there is for being *nudus cum nuda*, when juſtified by faſhion. This cuſtom withſtood even the thunder of general councils; and was not dropped till people became more decent, in appearance at leaſt.

In days of innocence, when modeſty is the ruling paſſion of the female ſex, we find great frankneſs in external behaviour; for women who are above ſuſpicion are little ſolicitous about appearances. At the ſame period, and for the ſame reaſon, we find great looſeneſs in writing; witneſs, the Queen of Navarre's Tales. In the capital of France at

[a] Plutarch, Life of Cato.

preſent, chaſtity, far from being practiſed, is ſcarce admitted to be a female virtue. But people who take much freedom in private, are extremely circumſpect in public: No indecent expreſſion nor inſinuation is admitted, even into their plays or other writings. In England, the women are leſs corrupted than in France; and, for that reaſon, are not ſo ſcrupulous with reſpect to decency in writing.

Hitherto of the female ſex in temperate climes, where polygamy is prohibited. Very different is their condition in hot climes, which inflame animal love in both ſexes equally. In the hot regions of Aſia, where polygamy is indulged, and wives are purchaſed for gratifying the carnal appetite merely, it is vain to think of reſtraining them otherwiſe than by locks and bars, after having once taſted enjoyment. Where polygamy is indulged, the body is the only object of jealouſy (not the mind), as there can be no mutual affection between a man and his inſtruments of ſenſual pleaſure. And if women be ſo little virtuous, as not to be ſafely truſted with their own conduct, they ought to be locked up; for there is no juſt medium between abſolute confinement and abſolute freedom. The Chineſe are ſo jealous of their wives, as even to lock them up from their relations; and ſo great is their diffidence of the female ſex in general, that brothers and ſiſters are not permitted to converſe together. When women are permitted to go abroad, they are ſhut up in a cloſe ſedan, into which no eye can penetrate. The intrigues carried on by the wives of the Chineſe Emperor, and the jealouſy

jealouſy that reigns among them, render them unhappy. But luckily, as women are little regarded where polygamy is indulged, their ambition and intrigues give leſs diſturbance to the government, than in the courts of European princes. The ladies of Hindoſtan cover their heads with a gauze veil, even at home, which they lay not aſide except in preſence of their neareſt relations. A Hindoo buys his wife; and the firſt time he is permitted to ſee her without a veil, is, after marriage, in his own houſe. In ſeveral hot countries, women are put under the guard of eunuchs, as an additional ſecurity; and black eunuchs are commonly preferred for their uglineſs. But as a woman, deprived of the ſociety of a man, is apt to be inflamed even with the appearance of a man, ſome jealous nations, refining upon that circumſtance, employ old maids, termed duennas, for guarding their women. In the city of Moka, in Arabia Felix, women of faſhion never appear on the ſtreet in day-light; but it is a proof of manners refined above thoſe in neighbouring countries, that they are permitted to viſit one another in the evening. If they find men in their way, they draw aſide to let them paſs. A French ſurgeon being called by one of the King of Yeman's chief officers, to cure a rheumatiſm which had ſeized two of his wives, was permitted to handle the parts affected, but he could not get a ſight of their faces.

I proceed to examine more minutely the manners of women, as reſulting from the degree of reſtraint they are under in different countries. In the warm regions of Aſia, where polygamy is indulged,

dulged, the education of young women is extremely looſe, being calculated for the ſole end of animal pleaſure. They are accompliſhed in ſuch graces and allurements as tend to inflame the ſenſual appetite: They are taught vocal and inſtrumental muſic, with various dances that cannot ſtand the teſt of decency: But no culture is beſtowed on the mind, no moral inſtruction, no improvement of the rational faculties; becauſe ſuch education, which qualifies them for being virtuous companions to men of ſenſe, would inſpire them with abhorrence at the being made proſtitutes. In a word, ſo corrupted are they by vicious education, as to be unfit objects of any deſire but what is merely ſenſual. The Aſiatic ladies are not even truſted with the management of houſehold affairs, which would afford opportunities for infidelity. In Perſia, ſays Chardin, the ladies are not permitted, more than children, to chuſe their own dreſs: No lady knows, in the morning, what gown ſhe is to wear that day. The education of young women in Hindoſtan is leſs indecent. They are not taught muſic nor dancing, which are reckoned fit only for ladies of pleaſure: They are taught all the graces of external behaviour; particularly, to converſe with ſpirit and elegance: They are taught alſo to ſew, to embroider, and to dreſs with taſte. Writing is neglected; but they are taught to read, that they may have the conſolation of ſtudying the Alcoran; which they never open, nor would underſtand if they did. Notwithſtanding ſuch care in educating Hindoſtan ladies, their manners, by being ſhut up in a ſeraglio, become extremely looſe: The moſt

refined

refined luxury of ſenſe, joined with idleneſs, or with reading love-tales, ſtill worſe than idleneſs, cannot fail to vitiate the minds of perſons deprived of liberty, and to prepare them for every ſort of intemperance. The wives and concubines of grandees in Conſtantinople are permitted ſometimes to walk abroad for air and exerciſe. A foreigner ſtumbling accidentally on a knot of them, about forty in number, attended with black eunuchs, was, in the twinkling of an eye, ſeized by a briſk girl, with the reſt at her heels; ſhe accoſted him with looſe, amorous expreſſions, attempting at the ſame time to expoſe his nakedneſs. Neither threats nor intreaties availed him againſt ſuch vigorous aſſailants; nor could the vehemence of their curioſity be moderated, by repreſenting the ſhame of a behaviour ſo groſsly immodeſt. An old Janizary, ſtanding at a little diſtance, was amazed: His Mahometan baſhfulneſs would not ſuffer him to lay hands upon women; but, with a Stentorian voice, he roared to the black eunuchs, that they were guardians of proſtitutes, not of modeſt women; and urging them to free the man from ſuch harpies.—All in vain [b].

Very different are female manners in temperate climes, where polygamy is prohibited, and women are treated as rational beings. Theſe manners, however, depend, in ſome meaſure, upon the nature of the government. As many hands are at once employed in the different branches of republican government, and ſtill a greater number by ro-

[b] Obſervations on the Religion, Laws, &c. of the Turks.

tation,

tation, the males, who have little time to ſpare from public buſineſs, feel nothing of that langour and wearineſs, which, to the idle, make the moſt frivolous amuſements welcome. Married women live retired at home, managing family-affairs, as their huſbands do thoſe of the ſtate: Whence it is, that ſimplicity of manners is more the tone of a republic, than of any other government. Such were the manners of the female ſex, during the flouriſhing periods of the Greek and Roman commonwealths; and ſuch are their manners in Switzerland and in Holland. In a monarchy, government employs but a few hands; and thoſe who are not occupied with public buſineſs, give reins to gallantry, and to other deſires that are eaſily gratified. Women of figure, on the other hand, corrupted by opulence and ſuperficial education, are more ambitious to captivate the eye than the judgment; and are fonder of lovers than of friends. Where a man and a woman, thus diſciplined, meet together, they ſoon grow particular: The man is idle, the woman frank: and both equally addicted to pleaſure. Such commerce muſt, in its infancy, be diſguiſed under the appearance of virtue and religion: The miſtreſs is exalted into a deity, the lover ſinks into a humble votary; and this artificial relation produces a bombaſt ſort of love, with ſentiments that ſoar high above nature. Duke John de Bourbonnois, ann. 1414, cauſed it to be proclaimed, that he intended an expedition to England with ſixteen knights, in order to combat the like number of Engliſh knights, for glorifying the beautiful angel he worſhipped. René, ſtyled King

of

of Sicily and Jeruſalem, obſerves, in writing upon tournaments, that they are highly uſeful in furniſhing opportunities to young knights and eſquires to to diſplay their proweſs before their miſtreſſes. He adds, "That every ceremony regarding tournaments is contrived to honour the ladies. It belongs to them to inſpect the arms of the combatants, and to diſtribute the rewards. A knight or eſquire who defames any of them, is beat and bruiſed till the injured lady condeſcends to intercede for him." Remove once a female out of her proper ſphere, and it is eaſy to convert her into a male. James IV. of Scotland, in all tournaments, profeſſed himſelf knight to Anne, Queen of France. She ſummoned him to prove himſelf her true and valorous champion, by taking the field in her defence againſt Henry VIII. of England. And, according to the romantic gallantry of that age, the Queen's ſummons was thought to have been his chief motive in declaring war againſt Henry his brother-in-law. The famous Gaſton de Foix, who commanded the French troops at the battle of Ravenna, rode from rank to rank, calling by name the officers, and even ſome private men, recommending to them their country and their honour; adding, "That he would ſee what they would perform for the love of their miſtreſſes." During the civil wars in France, when love and gallantry were carried to a high pitch, Monſieur de Chatillon, ready to engage in a battle, tied to his arm a garter of Mademoiſelle de Guerchi, his miſtreſs.

But when unlawful commerce between the ſexes turns common, and, conſequently, familiar, the bombaſt ſtyle appears ridiculous, and the ſenſual appetite is gratified with very little ceremony. Nothing of love remains but the name; and, as animal enjoyment without love is a very low pleaſure, it ſoon ſinks into diſguſt, when confined to one object. What is not found in one, is fondly expected in another; and the imagination, roving from object to object, finds no gratification but in variety. An attachment to a woman of virtue, or of talents, appears abſurd: True love is laughed out of countenance; and men degenerate into brutes. Women, on the other hand, regarding nothing but ſenſual enjoyment, become ſo careleſs of their infants, as even, without bluſhing, to employ mercenary nurſes *. Such a courſe of life cannot fail to ſink

* Les femmes d'un certain état en France trouvent qu'elles perdent trop à faire des enfans, et à cauſe de cela même, la plûpart vivent célibataires, dans le ſein même du marriage. Mais ſi l'envie de ſe voir perpetuer dans une branche de deſcendans, les porte à ſe conformer aux vœux de l'hymen, la population, dans cette claſſe, n'en eſt pas plus avancée, parce que leur delicateſſe rend inutile leur propagation; car, parmi les femmes du premier et ſecond rang en France, combien y en a-t-il qui nouriſſent leurs enfans? Il ſeroit facile de les compter. Ce devoir indiſpenſable de mere, à ceſsé chez nos d'en être un. (Les Intereſts de la France, vol. I. p. 234.)—[In Engliſh thus; "The "women of a certain rank in France find that they loſe too much by "child-bearing; and, for that reaſon, even though married, live in "a ſtate of celibacy. But population is not advanced, even by thoſe "who, from a deſire of ſeeing themſelves perpetuated in their de"ſcendents, conform to the purpoſe of marriage; for their delicacy "counterbalances their fertility. How few of the firſt and ſecond "rank of women in France ſuckle their children? It would be eaſy "to count the number. This indiſpenſable duty of a mother has "now ceaſed to be one with us"]—As ſuch woeful neglect of education is the fruit of voluptuouſneſs, we may take it for granted, that the ſame obtains in every opulent and luxurious capital.

them

them into contempt: Marriages are diſſolved as ſoon as contracted; and the ſtate is fruſtrated of that improvement in morals and manners, which is the never-failing product of virtuous love. A ſtate, enriched by conqueſt or commerce, declines gradually into luxury and ſenſual pleaſure: Manners are corrupted, decency baniſhed, and chaſtity becomes a mere name. What a ſcene of rank and diſſolute pleaſure is exhibited in the courts of Alexander's ſucceſſors, and in thoſe of the Roman emperors!

Gratitude to my female readers, if I ſhall be honoured with any, prompts me to conclude this ſketch with a ſcene that may afford them inſtruction, and cannot fail of being agreeable; which is, the figure a woman is fitted for making in the matrimonial ſtate, where polygamy is excluded. Matrimony, among ſavages, having no object but propagation and ſlavery, is a very humbling ſtate for the female ſex: But delicate organization, great ſenſibility, lively imagination, with ſweetneſs of temper above all, qualify women for a more dignified ſociety with men; which is, to be their boſom-friends and companions. In the common courſe of European education, young women are trained to make an agreeable figure, and to behave with decency and propriety: Very little culture is beſtowed on the head; and ſtill leſs on the heart, if it be not the art of hiding paſſion. Education ſo ſlight and ſuperficial is far from ſeconding the purpoſe of nature, that of making women fit companions for men of ſenſe. Due cultivation of the female mind would add greatly to the happineſs of

the males, and ſtill more to that of the females. Time runs on; and, when youth and beauty vaniſh, a fine lady, who never entertained a thought into which an admirer did not enter, finds in herſelf a lamentable void, occaſioning diſcontent and peeviſhneſs. But a woman who has merit, improved by virtuous and refined education, retains, in her decline, an influence over the men, more flattering than even that of beauty: She is the delight of her friends, as formerly of her admirers.

Admirable would be the effects of ſuch refined education, contributing no leſs to public good than to private happineſs. A man, who at preſent muſt degrade himſelf into a fop or a coxcomb, in order to pleaſe the women, would ſoon diſcover, that their favour is not to be gained, but by exerting every manly talent in public and in private life, and the two ſexes, inſtead of corrupting each other, would be rivals in the race of virtue. Mutual eſteem would be to each a ſchool of urbanity; and mutual deſire of pleaſing would give ſmoothneſs to their behaviour, delicacy to their ſentiments, and tenderneſs to their paſſions.

Married women, in particular, deſtined by nature to take the lead in educating their children, would no longer be the greateſt obſtruction to good education, by their ignorance, frivolity, and diſorderly manner of living. Even upon the breaſt, infants are ſuſceptible of impreſſions *; and the mother

* May not a habit of chearfulneſs be produced in an infant, by being trained up among chearful people? An agreable temper is held to be a prime qualification in a nurſe. Such is the connection between

mother hath opportunities without end of inſtilling into them good principles, before they are fit for a male tutor. Coriolanus, who made a capital figure in the Roman republic, never returned from war, without meriting marks of diſtinction. Others behaved valiantly, in order to acquire glory; he behaved valiantly, in order to give pleaſure to his mother. The delight ſhe took in hearing him praiſed, and her weeping for joy in his embraces, made him in his own opinion, the happieſt perſon in the univerſe. Epaminondas accounted it his greateſt felicity, that his father and mother were ſtill alive to behold his conduct, and enjoy his victory at Leuctra. In a Latin dialogue about the cauſes that corrupted the Roman eloquence, injudiciouſly aſcribed to Tacitus, becauſe obviouſly it is not his ſtyle, the method of education in Rome, while it flouriſhed as a commonwealth, is deſcribed in a lively manner. I ſhall endeavour to give the ſenſe in Engliſh, becauſe it chiefly concerns the fair ſex. "In that age, children were ſuckled, not in "the hut of a mercenary nurſe, but by the chaſte "mother who bore them. Their education, during "nonage, was in her hands; and it was her chief "care to inſtil into them every virtuous principle. "In her preſence, a looſe word or an improper ac-"tion were ſtrictly prohibited. She ſuperinten-

between the mind and body, as that the features of the face are commonly moulded into an expreſſion of the internal diſpoſition; and is it not natural to think, that an infant in the womb may be affected by the temper of its mother? Its tender parts make it ſuſceptible of the ſlighteſt impreſſions. When a woman is breeding ſhe ought to be doubly careful of her temper; and, in particular, to indulge no ideas but what are chearful, and no ſentiments but what are kindly.

"ded,

" ded, not only their ſerious ſtudies, but even " their amuſements; which were conducted with " decency and moderation. In that manner the " Gracchi, educated by Cornelia their mother, " and Auguſtus, by Attia his mother, appeared in " public with untainted minds: Fond of glory, " and prepared to make a figure in the world." In the expedition of the illuſtrious Bertrand du Gueſelin againſt Peter the Cruel, King of Caſtile, the governor of a town, upon being ſummoned to give it up, made the following anſwer: " That " they might be conquered, but would never " tamely yield; that their fathers had taught them " to prefer a glorious death before a diſhonourable " life; and that their mothers had not only edu- " cated them in theſe ſentiments, but were ready " to put in practice the leſſons they had inculcat- " ed." Let the moſt profound politician ſay, what more efficacious incentive there can be to virtue and manhood, than the behaviour of the Spartan matrons, flocking to the temples, and thanking the gods, that their huſbands and ſons had died glorioufly, fighting for their country. In the war between Lacedemon and Thebes, the Lacedemonians having behaved ill, the married men, as Plutarch reports, were ſo aſhamed of themſelves, that they durſt not look their wives in the face. What a glorious prize is here exhibited to be contended for by the female ſex!

By ſuch refined education, love would take on a new form, that which nature inſpires for making us happy, and for ſoftening the diſtreſſes of chance: It would fill deliciouſly the whole ſoul with tender amity,

amity, and mutual confidence. The union of a worthy man with a frivolous woman can never, with all the advantages of fortune, be made comfortable: How different the union of a virtuous pair, who have no aim but to make each other happy! Between ſuch a pair emulation is reverſed, by an ardent deſire in each to be ſurpaſſed by the other.

Cultivation of the female mind is not of great importance in a republic, where men paſs little of their time with women. Such cultivation where polygamy is indulged, would to them be a great misfortune, by opening their eyes to their miſerable condition. But in an opulent monarchy where polygamy is prohibited, female education is of high importance, not ſingly with reſpect to private happineſs, but with reſpect to the ſociety in general.

APPENDIX.

# APPENDIX.

## *Concerning Propagation of Animals, and Care of their Offspring.*

THE natural hiſtory of animals with reſpect to pairing, and care of their offspring, is ſuſceptible of more elucidation than could regularly be introduced into the ſketch itſelf, where it makes but a ſingle argument. Loth to neglect a ſubject that eminently diſplays the wiſdom and benevolence of Providence, I gladly embrace the preſent opportunity, however ſlight, to add what further occurs upon it. Buffon, in many large volumes, beſtows ſcarce a thought on that favourite ſubject; and the neglect of our countrymen Ray and Derham is ſtill leſs excuſable, conſidering that to diſplay the conduct of Providence was their ſole purpoſe in writing on natural hiſtory.

The inſtinct of pairing is beſtowed on every ſpecies of animals to which it is neceſſary for rearing their young; and on no other ſpecies. All wild birds pair: But with a remarkable difference between ſuch as place their neſts on trees, and ſuch as place them on the ground. The young of the former, being hatched blind, and without feathers, require the nurſing care of both parents till they be able to fly. The male feeds his mate on the neſt, and chears her with a ſong. As ſoon as the young are hatched, ſinging yields to a more neceſſary occupation, that of providing food for a numerous iſſue, a taſk that requires both parents.

Eagles

Eagles and other birds of prey build on trees, or on other inacceſſible ſpots. They not only pair, but continue in pairs all the year round; and the ſame pair procreate year after year. This at leaſt is the caſe of eagles: The male and female hunt together, unleſs during incubation, during which time the female is fed by the male. A greater number than a ſingle pair never are ſeen in company.

Gregarious birds pair, in order probably to prevent diſcord in a ſociety confined to a narrow ſpace. This is the caſe particularly of pigeons and rooks. The male and female ſit on the eggs alternately, and divide the care of feeding their young.

Partridges, plovers, pheaſants, peafowl, grouſe, and other kinds that place their neſts on the ground, have the inſtinct of pairing; but differ from ſuch as build on trees in the following particular, that after the female is impregnated, ſhe completes her taſk without needing any help from the male. Retiring from him, ſhe chuſes a ſafe ſpot for her neſt, where ſhe can find plenty of worms and graſs-ſeed at hand. And her young, as ſoon as hatched, take foot, and ſeek food for themſelves. The only remaining duty incumbent on the dam is, to lead them to proper places for food, and to call them together when danger impends. Some males, provoked at the deſertion of their mates, break the eggs if they ſtumble on them. Eider ducks pair like other birds that place their neſts on the ground; and the female finiſhes her neſt with down plucked from her own breaſt. If the neſt be deſtroyed for the down, which is remarkably warm and elaſtic, ſhe makes another neſt as before. If ſhe be robbed

a ſecond time, ſhe makes a third neſt; but the male furniſhes the down. A lady of ſpirit obſerved, that the Eider duck may give a leſſon to many a married woman, who is more diſpoſed to pluck her huſband than herſelf. The black game never pair: in ſpring the cock on an eminence crows, and claps his wings; and all the females within hearing inſtantly reſort to him.

Pairing birds, excepting thoſe of prey, flock together in February, in order to chuſe their mates. They ſoon diſperſe; and are not ſeen afterward but in pairs.

Pairing is unknown to quadrupeds that feed on graſs. To ſuch it would be uſeleſs; as the female gives ſuck to her young while ſhe herſelf is feeding. If M. Buffon deſerves credit, the roe-deer are an exception. They pair, though they feed on graſs, and have but one litter in a year.

Beaſts of prey, ſuch as lions, tigers, wolves, pair not. The female is left to ſhift for herſelf and for her young; which is a laborious taſk, and often ſo unſucceſsful as to ſhorten the life of many of them. Pairing is eſſential to birds of prey, becauſe incubation leaves the female no ſufficient time to hunt for food. Pairing is not neceſſary to beaſts of prey, becauſe their young can bear a long faſt. Add another reaſon, that they would multiply ſo faſt by pairing as to prove troubleſome neighbours to the human race.

Among animals that pair not, males fight deſperately about a female. Such a battle among horned cattle is finely deſcribed by Lucretius. Nor is it unuſual for ſeven or eight lions to wage bloody war for a ſingle female. The

The ſame reaſon that makes pairing neceſſary for gregarious birds, obtains with reſpect to gregarious quadrupeds; thoſe eſpecially who ſtore up food for winter, and during that ſeaſon live in common. Diſcord among ſuch would be attended with worſe conſequences than even among lions and bulls, who are not confined to one place. The beavers, with reſpect to pairing, reſemble birds that place their neſts on the ground. As ſoon as the young are produced, the males abandon their ſtock of food to their mates, and live at large; but return frequently to viſit them while they are ſuckling their young.

Hedge-hogs pair as well as ſeveral of the monkey kind. We are not well acquainted with the natural hiſtory of theſe animals; but it would appear that the young require the nurſing care of both parents.

Seals have a ſingular œconomy. Polygamy ſeems to be a law of nature among them, as a male aſſociates with ſeveral females. The ſea-turtle has no occaſion to pair, as the female concludes her taſk by laying her eggs in the ſand. The young are hatched by the ſun; and immediately crawl to the ſea.

In every other branch of animal œconomy concerning the continuance of the ſpecies, the hand of Providence is equally conſpicuous. The young of pairing birds are produced in the ſpring, when the weather begins to be comfortable; and their early production makes them firm and vigorous before winter, to endure the hardſhips of that rigorous ſeaſon. Such early production is in particular fa-

vourable to eagles, and other birds of prey; for in the ſpring they have plenty of food, by the return of birds of paſſage.

Though the time of geſtation varies conſiderably in the different quadrupeds that feed on graſs, yet the female is regularly delivered early in ſummer, when graſs is in plenty. The mare admits the ſtallion in ſummer, carries eleven months, and is delivered the beginning of May. The cow differs little. A ſheep and a goat take the male in November, carry five months, and produce when graſs begins to ſpring. Theſe animals love ſhort graſs, upon which a mare or a cow would ſtarve *. The rutting-ſeaſon of the red deer is the end of September, and beginning of October: It continues for three weeks, during which time the male runs from female to female without intermiſſion. The female brings forth in May, or beginning of June; and the female of the fallow deer brings forth at the ſame time. The ſhe-aſs is in ſeaſon beginning of ſummer; but ſhe bears twelve months, which fixes her delivery to ſummer. Wolves and foxes copulate in December: The female carries five months, and brings forth in April, when animal food is as plentiful as at any other ſeaſon; and the ſhe-lion brings forth about the ſame time. Of this early birth there is one evident advantage, hinted above: The young have time

* I have it upon good authority, that ewes paſturing in a hilly country pitch early on ſome ſnug ſpot, where they may drop their young with ſafety. And hence the riſk of removing a flock to a new field immediately before delivery: Many lambs periſh by being dropped in improper places.

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to grow ſo firm as eaſily to bear the inclemencies of winter.

Were one to gueſs what probably would be the time of rutting, ſummer would be named, eſpecially in a cold climate. And yet to quadrupeds who carry but four or five months, that oeconomy would be pernicious, throwing the time of delivery to an improper ſeaſon for warmth, as well as for food. Wiſely it is ordered, that the delivery ſhould conſtantly be at the beſt ſeaſon for both.

Gregarious quadrupeds that ſtore up food for winter, differ from all other quadrupeds with reſpect to the time of delivery. Beavers copulate the end of autumn, and bring forth in January, when their granary is full. The ſame oeconomy probably obtains among all other quadrupeds of the ſame kind.

One rule takes place among all brute animals, without a ſingle exception, That the female never is burdened with two litters at the ſame time. The time of geſtation is ſo unerringly calculated by nature, that the young brood upon hand can provide for themſelves before another brood comes on. Even a hare is not an exception, though many litters are procured in a year. The female carries thirty or thirty-one days; but ſhe ſuckles her young only twenty days, after which they provide for themſelves, and leave her free to a new litter.

The care of animals to preſerve their young from harm is a beautiful inſtance of Providence. When a hind hears the hounds, ſhe puts herſelf in the way of being hunted, and leads them away from her fawn. The lapwing is no leſs ingenious;

if

if a perſon approach, ſhe flies about, retiring always from her neſt. A partridge is extremely artful: ſhe hops away, hanging a wing as if broken: lingers till the perſon approach, and hops again. A hen, timid by nature, is bold as a lion in defence of her young: ſhe darts upon every creature that threatens danger. The roe-buck defends its young with reſolution and courage. So doth a ram; and ſo do many other quadrupeds.

It is obſerved by an ingenious writer [a], that nature ſports in the colour of domeſtic animals, in order that men may the more readily diſtinguiſh their own. It is not eaſy to ſay, why colour is more varied in ſuch animals, than in thoſe which remain in the ſtate of nature: I can only ſay, that the cauſe aſſigned is not ſatisfactory. One is ſeldom at a loſs to diſtinguiſh one animal from another; and Providence never interpoſes to vary the ordinary courſe of nature, for an end ſo little neceſſary as to make the diſtinction ſtill more obvious. Such interpoſition would beſide have a bad effect, by encouraging inattention and indolence.

The foregoing particulars are offered to the public as hints merely: may it not be hoped, that they will excite curioſity in thoſe who reliſh natural hiſtory? The field is rich, though little cultivated; and I know no other branch of natural hiſtory that opens finer views into the conduct of Providence.

I NO 61

[a] Pennant.

FINIS.

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1 NO 61

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It is not to be hoped, in the corrupt State of Human Nature, that any Nation will be subject to another, any longer than it finds its own Account in it, and cannot help itself. - - -

- - - - - - -

No Creatures suck the Teats of their Dams longer than they can draw Milk from thence, or can provide themselves with better Food; nor will any Country continue their subjection to another, only because their great Grand-Mothers were acquainted. This is the course of human affairs, and all wise States will always have it before their eyes.

Trenchard on Plantations and Colonies,
in Cato's Letters, No. 106.

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